Gal 5 C.

THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD,

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

FROM THE CONCLUSION OF THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT, IN 1780, TO THE END OF THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE SIXTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN, IN 1790.

"At the concluſion of a long war, how are we recompenſed for the "death of multitudes, and the expence of millions, but by con- "templating the ſudden glories of pay-maſters, and agents, contrac- "tors, and commiſſaries, whoſe equipages ſhine like meteors, and "whoſe palaces riſe like exhalations?"

Dr. JOHNSON.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

HISTORY

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

[1780.

THE extended regions of Hiſtory, like the face of the terraqueous globe, preſent to our view ſome tracts diſtinguiſhed by their fertility, and others by their barrenneſs. On the diverſified proſpect which cheers us by its beauty, or excites ſtronger emotions by its grandeur and ſublimity, the eye delights to dwell; while from the long and trackleſs deſert it turns with a contemptuous inattention. It is the fortune of the preſent generation to exiſt in one of thoſe eventful periods, when every year is an epoch; when the trivial circumſtances which fill the pages of moſt hiſtories, give place to tranſactions which involve conſequences of the deepeſt import to mankind; when the petty wars concerning the boundaries of a province or a diſputed ſucceſſion, no longer occupy the attention of mankind; but when the conteſt is concerning the principles, the

laws of ſociety itſelf, the forms of government, and the modes of thinking which are to direct mankind.

A change in the ſentiments of the public muſt ſooner or later be followed by a change in the exiſting ſtate of things. The latent flame which is kindled in the receſſes of the earth, may for a while be reſiſted by the ſuperincumbent weight, but it finds a paſſage at length; and the violence of the ſhock is perhaps proportionate to the force of the preſſure. Innumerable cauſes had co-operated to a change of ſentiments in the nations of Europe, from the commencement of the preſent century. The Reformation had broken the ſtrong fetters which Superſtition had forged; it had beſtowed on man the privilege of thought; it had taught him to diſregard authority, and to inquire into its foundations. It was ſome time, it is true, before the effects of this bold and innovating ſpirit could be extended to the civil conſtitutions; but ſtill the mind which is releaſed from one prejudice, is at leaſt prepared to ſtruggle with another.

A cauſe, however, which co-operated with this, and which may perhaps be regarded as ſtill more powerful, was the general diffuſion of literature and ſcience. The metaphyſical polemics of the laſt century were ſucceeded by a ſeries of writers, who, while they indulged a greater freedom of opinion, addreſſed the public in a ſtyle more popular and captivating, and adapted to make, at leaſt, a more general impreſſion. From the time of Monteſquieu it became even faſhionable to ſpeculate on political ſubjects; and what the caution of that judicious writer permitted him only to glance at, was openly aſſerted by the extravagant philoſophy of Voltaire, and of Rouſſeau.

The increaſe of commerce had created a new, independent, and powerful intereſt in almoſt every community,

community, which looked with a jealous eye on the excluſive privileges of the ancient ariſtocracy. The ſyſtem of funding, which improvident wars had produced, eſtabliſhed a new ſpecies of property, which could not be ſubjected to the feudal regulations. The diſtant dependencies which were held by the maritime ſtates, and particularly by Great Britain, and the different forms of adminiſtration to which theſe muſt neceſſarily be ſubmitted, all contributed to produce a diverſity of intereſts, which did not exiſt in the ſimplicity of the ancient governments; and where this takes place, the minds of men will ſoon become active, and will inveſtigate as well with acuteneſs, as with ſeverity, thoſe rights which derive their chief ſupport from antiquity, and from the paſſive acquieſcence of ages.

The reign of George III. was the period in which ſome effect might be naturally expected from theſe concurrent circumſtances, and there were other cauſes which contributed to haſten the criſis. Among theſe, we muſt account that extraordinary ſpirit of freedom in which the Britiſh colonies of America, through their original inſignificance, or the negligence of government, had firſt been planted; a ſpirit which they had continued to cheriſh with the enthuſiaſm of ſectaries, and with all that prejudice which attaches to a gift tranſmitted from our anceſtors.

In our former volumes the reader will find theſe obſervations amply confirmed; he will ſee the progreſs of popular ſentiment; and may obſerve the public mind gradually revolting from a blind confidence in the leaders of party and attaining ſpontaneity of thought and action, and combating rather for meaſures than for men. The conteſt which ſucceeded on the peace of 1763, ſoon

changed into a queſtion of right concerning the privileges of the ſubject, and the conſtitution of parliament. The great queſtion of American taxation was really an important topic, which regarded and involved the very principles of government and the rights of men. In theſe diſcuſſions Great Britain led the way; but the ſeeds of revolution were ſown in other countries, and only wanted a favourable ſeaſon to bring them to maturity.

We are now arrived at a period when the principles which had ſo long been latently operating in the minds of men, were to be called forth into almoſt immediate action; when the ſucceſs of the conteſt on the other ſide of the Atlantic, afforded a proſpect animating to the friends of liberty in the European hemiſphere; when the rights of kings were to be inveſtigated with the ſame ſeverity as thoſe of private individuals; and when opinions, prejudices, and even the moſt ſolemn inſtitutions, were to encounter the rude and hazardous aſſaults of popular enthuſiaſm.

The year 1780 preſents little ſatisfactory to the patriotic recollection of Britons. We look back upon that diſmal period, as the traveller views from a diſtance the tremendous precipice he has paſſed, or the ſeaman the boiſterous ocean on which he has ſuffered ſhipwreck. Waſted and weakened by a foreign war, and diſgraced by the violent proceedings of an intolerant banditti at home—without wiſdom in her councils, or unanimity among her citizens, Britain preſented at this moment to the world a ſpectacle of humiliation and miſery. Little progreſs had been made in the attempt to coerce the revolted colonies of North America; and the whole power of the Houſe of Bourbon, the ſuper-population of France, and the wealth of Spain,

Spain, were combined with the activity and deſperation of her own revolted ſubjects, to effect her ruin; while ſhe ſtood alone without a ſingle ally.

By the ſupineneſs and deluſion of the people, and the pliability of the parliament, the miniſtry, who had reduced the nation to this deplorable and diſgraceful extremity, were ſtill ſuffered to occupy the ſtations from which they ought long before to have been precipitated. The reins of government were ſtill oſtenſibly guided by the feeble hand of Lord North, a man not deſtitute of ability, but of that negative character which was incapable of any great or virtuous exertion. By the humble track of progreſſion and ſeniority, he had paſſed through the inferior departments of office, and, on the ſeceſſion of the Duke of Grafton, had found himſelf, as if by chance, in the ſituation of miniſter. The ductility of diſpoſition which had firſt marked him out as the paſſive inſtrument of an inviſible faction, continued him in office. Under him the diſpute with America had commenced, though he had more than once profeſſed that the war *was not his*, and that it had been engaged in contrary to his wiſhes or advice. Thoſe who were not converſant with the man, and who did not know the maxims by which he governed himſelf, will ſcarcely believe that ſuch meanneſs and inconſiſtency could exiſt in any perſon, even of moderate abilities. But Lord North was educated from infancy in the ſchool of corruption. Naturally of an eaſy and pliant temper, that diſpoſition was increaſed by the maxims he had imbibed. With him the miniſters were not the ſervants of the ſtate, but of the crown, whoſe orders they had only to execute. The general good was not to be conſidered and the means by which

the mandates of the executive power were to be accompliſhed, were juſtified by the end. Thus, had he been poſſeſſed of a great underſtanding, and capable of extenſive views, his principles muſt have militated againſt them: but he was not. He was rather a man of wit, than of conſummate ability; ready and adroit, rather than wiſe and ſagacious. He ſeldom looked beyond the moment; and conſidered the faculty of parrying with dexterity the ſtrokes which were aimed at him in the houſe of commons, as the firſt qualification of a miniſter. Under him corruption and venality are ſaid to have been carried to a greater exceſs than under any former miniſter; and what in the hands of Walpole was a caſual expedient for the promotion of a particular meaſure, under this adminiſtration was reduced to a regular ſyſtem of penſion and contract.

In delineating the principles of Lord North, thoſe of the American Secretary have been almoſt depicted. They were both educated in the ſame ſchool, and the ſame depraved notions of government were profeſſed by both. Lord George Germaine was not a man of great talents: he had leſs wit than Lord North, but perhaps more judgement, and certainly more induſtry. His panegyriſt has ſaid of him that he appeared to be born to contend with misfortune, ſince, from his firſt political outſet at the battle of Minden, ſcarcely any one project in which he engaged, was known to proſper. This however is at beſt but a poor extenuation; ſince, though proſperity does not neceſſarily attach to wiſdom or merit, and though all men are liable to the caſual aſſaults of ill fortune and adverſity,—where a general failure in every undertaking is known to attend the whole

progreſs of a life, there is room to ſuſpect at leaſt a defect in the head or in the heart.

Of the Noble Lord who preſided over the naval department, the beſt panegyric would be total ſilence. Future hiſtorians will do juſtice to his moral character; nor can they want materials, while ſo many facts remain upon record for its illuſtration, and while the annals of the Old Bailey ſerve to convey to poſterity the affecting narrative of Hackman and Miſs Ray. In ſo barren a wilderneſs, it would be happy if the proſpect was enlivened by the appearance of one ſolitary virtue; but he was as deſtitute of feeling as of principle. Amidſt the copious crop of vices which overſhadowed his whole character, not even that of cowardice was wanting, to move our contempt as well as our deteſtation; and ſtrange it is, that though his ſentiments with reſpect to all religion natural and revealed, are well known, yet ſo timid was his nature, that, contrary to all his convictions, he could ſcarcely bear to be left alone. With ſuch a general character, we cannot wonder if in political life he was the decided enemy of his country, and the devoted inſtrument of a corrupt cabinet. His name, indeed, was never mentioned without exciting ſentiments of contempt; and the mock appellation of Jemmy Twitcher, which was applied to him from the well-known drama of the Beggars Opera, was intended to convey a cenſure on his political life, of the moſt degrading kind. If nature had endowed him with talents, the courſe of diſſipation in which he was engaged, muſt have diſqualified him for the exerciſe of them; but, from our perſonal knowledge, we can ſtate that he had them not. He poſſeſſed an active, but not a ſtrong mind. Practiſed in the intrigues of courts, and in the debates of parliament, he could ſpeak and

reply with ſome facility; but his ideas never took an extenſive range: the details of office, and the petty maxims of court management and intrigue, generally furniſhed the great outline of his eloquence.

In the preceding winter, in conſequence of the deſertion of Earl Gower, who had been preſident of the council, adminiſtration had received ſome acceſſion of ability by the promotion of Mr. Thurlow, from the office of attorney general, to that of lord chancellor, in the room of Earl Bathurſt, who was removed to the ſituation which Earl Gower had juſt relinquiſhed. While the general opinion attributes the poſſeſſion of talents to Lord Thurlow, the intereſts of truth demand that the propoſition ſhould be received with conſiderable qualification. The ſingle circumſtance of riſing from a mean and obſcure origin, to a ſplendid ſituation, is apt to impreſs the multitude with the opinion, that the moſt brilliant abilities, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed qualities, are eſſential to ſuch a progreſs: but in the routine of courts, elevation is more frequently the conſequence of fortuitous events, or of fortunate connexions, of ſervile habits, and a pliant conſcience, than of merit and ability.

If we examine the parliamentary efforts of Lord Thurlow, we ſhall find in them little that indicates the man of genius, or the poſſeſſor of an enlarged and enlightened underſtanding. In them, no abſtract ſentiment, no pointed reflexion, no witticiſm, no metaphor diſtinguiſhed for ingenuity, is to be found. Of the deficiency of his education, and the meanneſs of his early habits and connexions, the vulgarity of his language and the triteneſs of his ſentiments are ſufficient indications. Incapable of elevating his mind to any great or novel conception, he has ever been the avowed advocate

of

of every vulgar prejudice, of every ancient corruption. Unacquainted with all other ſcience, he has even been charged with inattention to ſome of thoſe branches immediately connected with his own profeſſion; and his early habits having been formed in the obſcure and mechanical drudgery of a mean occupation, a coarſeneſs of manners has accompanied him through life. Conſcious, perhaps, that the diſtinguiſhing feature in his character is ſervility, and that to this quality he was chiefly indebted for his advancement, he was deſirous of concealing that ſubmiſſion which he practiſed towards his ſuperiors, by the exerciſe of inſolence and arrogance to all whom fortune had placed in a ſubordinate ſtation. Like all uneducated perſons, he could ſometimes join, even to exceſs, in the praiſe of him, whom the public voice had extolled; but he was incapable of diſtinguiſhing for himſelf. In the diſtribution of preferments, he has made a few ſacrifices to popularity; but in theſe his ignorance has betrayed him into error. He has miſtaken pompoſity for learning, confidence for genius, and ſophiſtry for argument.

As a public ſpeaker, he has been chiefly diſtinguiſhed by three qualities—invincible aſſurance, inflexible obſtinacy, and a talent for quibble. Yet theſe were valuable acceſſions to this miſerable adminiſtration; and, as almoſt the whole of their arrangements conſiſted in a ſeries of little artifices to keep up the deluſion of the people, and in the diſtribution of the rewards of corruption, perhaps ſuch were the only talents which could lend them effectual aſſiſtance.

The other members of adminiſtration were the mere drudges of office, or the meek pageants of ariſtocracy, whoſe weakneſs and inactivity equally exempted them from reſponſibility and cenſure.

Such

Such were the men to whoſe guidance the affairs of Britain were committed at this momentous criſis, while almoſt the whole of the ability, character, and landed intereſt of the kingdom, maintained a weak and ineffectual ſtruggle againſt the predominating influence of the crown. It was inſinuated by ſome perſons, not well affected to the meaſures of government, that an interior cabinet exiſted at this period, and controuled, in their operations, the oſtenſible agents of government; and that the ſecret influence of which Lord Chatham ſo pointedly complained, ſtill continued to direct the movements of the political machine.

The diſſatisfaction of the nation at the long continuance of the war, united with the ſpirited efforts of the old ariſtocracy of the country, and ſeconded by forcible petitions for a redreſs of grievances, had produced a momentary gleam in favour of liberty; and the ſucceſs of Mr. Dunning's motions on the ſixth of April, elevated the hopes of thoſe who had long wiſhed a diminution of that "influence," which they conceived had been exerted ſo much to the detriment of the nation; but the arrangements of the miniſter, during the receſs of parliament, which took place on the illneſs of the Speaker, defeated, for the preſent, their operation. Theſe were almoſt the laſt ſucceſsful efforts made in the houſe of commons in favour of the people; after this the ſpirit of the nation, as well as of the ariſtocracy, appears to have ſunk into a ſtate of languor and debility and the only conteſt has commonly been, who ſhall exert himſelf moſt agreeably to the wiſhes of the court.

To the fatal riots which in June had diſgraced the metropolis of England much of this quieſcent diſpoſition muſt be attributed: by theſe tremendous

dous commotions, every perſon poſſeſſed of property was alarmed; and every man who lived in the enjoyment of eaſe and luxury, was induced to dread the horrid exceſſes and devaſtations of a mob. The adherents of miniſtry were active in confounding the abſurdities of an intolerant aſſociation, with all the attempts to procure a reform of real grievances, or a ceſſation from the deſtructive war in which we were engaged. The ſanguinary executions which ſucceeded the riots, caſt a depreſſing gloom over the minds of the multitude, and ſerved to increaſe that awe and reverence which is always experienced for an eſtabliſhed government. The multitude of contractors, and the ſwarm of inſects who, in a time of war, prey upon the vitals of the nation, increaſed with its diſtreſſes, and the influence of theſe embraced an extended circle of venality and dependance.

There were other circumſtances which, at this period, operated in favour of the miniſtry. The popular mind is commonly ſwayed and determined by ſucceſs. Incapable of abſtracted reaſoning, or of patient inveſtigation, the multitude judges chiefly by events, without adverting at all to principle and argument. Had the miniſtry been ſucceſsful in their attempt to coerce the Americans, the atrocity of their conduct would never have been ſuſpected, and the ſecret motives which produced the war would never once have been inveſtigated. The expenditure of ſo many millions, and the oppreſſive weight of taxes, would have produced only tame acquieſcence, or ſervile applauſe. Unfortunate as they had been, every little piece of ſucceſs was received with general exultation; and while the prejudices of the miſguided populace were flattered by a triumph over thoſe whom they were taught to call enemies and rebels, they never once

once reflected on the general conſequences of the ruinous proceedings in which adminiſtration had involved them.

Such was the ſtate of things in the ſummer of 1780. Though no beneficial conſequences could poſſibly enſue from the continuance of the war, and though victory was really more fatal than defeat to the intereſts of the nation, ſince it only placed at a farther diſtance the proſpect of peace, by encouraging the infatuation of the miniſtry; yet ſome ſplendid actions which had juſt occurred, ſerved to conſole the unthinking populace for their former diſgraces, and to revive the fatal deluſion which promiſed them conqueſts and victory in every quarter of the globe. We allude at preſent particularly to the ſucceſſes of Sir George Rodney.

The Spaniſh declaration of war had been immediately ſucceeded by the cloſe inveſtment of Gibraltar. It was about the middle of Auguſt, 1779, when the enemy's troops firſt began to break ground before that fortreſs; and it continued cloſely beſieged from that period to the end of the year, though the Spaniſh batteries were not ſufficiently in forwardneſs to annoy the garriſon to any extent. About the commencement of the year 1780, however, a moſt dreadful ſcarcity prevailed within the fortreſs. One perſon died actually ſtarved; and many were ſo enfeebled through want, that they might be ſaid to owe their fate ultimately to the ſame circumſtance. Thiſtles, dandelion, &c. were the daily food of multitudes: butchers meat was from two ſhillings and ſixpence to four ſhillings per pound; and bread, and every other article, in proportion.

The relief of Gibraltar was an object of more immediate urgency, as the neglect and inattention manifeſted

manifeſted by the Engliſh miniſtry to the Emperor of Morocco, had induced that prince, contrary to all his intereſts and prejudices, to throw himſelf directly into the hands of their rivals, and to take almoſt a decided part in favour of Spain: by this circumſtance the garriſon was totally deprived of its uſual ſupplies, which had previouſly been drawn from the dominions of the Emperor, and was reduced to depend altogether upon England for every neceſſary, not only of defence, but of ſubſiſtence.

The ſquadron, therefore, which had been fitted out in the latter end of 1779, for the defence of the Weſt Indies, under the command of Admiral Sir George Rodney, was ordered, in its way, to touch at Gibraltar, to relieve it from the blockade, and to convoy thither a conſiderable fleet of tranſports with neceſſaries for the garriſon.

Cicero, in enumerating the qualifications of a general, aſſigns no inconſiderable place in the ſcale of merit to *good fortune*; and it is certain, that no man ever ſeemed to poſſeſs this advantage in a more ſingular degree than Admiral Rodney. He had been but a few days at ſea, when a fortunate chance threw in his way a convoy bound from St. Sebaſtian to Cadiz, conſiſting of fifteen ſail of merchantmen, under the protection of a fine new ſixty-four gun ſhip, and four frigates. The whole fleet was captured by the Engliſh admiral, and afforded a happy omen of his future ſucceſs.

The admiral had ſcarcely adjuſted the diſtribution of his prizes, when, on the 16th of January, off Cape St. Vincent, he came in ſight of a Spaniſh ſquadron of eleven ſhips of the line, commanded by Don Juan Langara. As the Spaniards were greatly inferior in force to the Britiſh, they ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to avoid an engagement; but

Admiral

Admiral Rodney, aware of their deſign, inſtead of bearing down upon them in a line of battle, gave the ſignal for a general chace, with orders to engage them as they came up in rotation, and kept, at the ſame time, the lee gage, to intercept their retreat to their own ports.

The Spaniards made a moſt gallant defence; but the admiral's ſhip, the Phœnix, of eighty guns, and three others of ſeventy, fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and were carried to Gibraltar. The San Domingo, of ſeventy guns and ſix hundred men, blew up early in the action, and all on board periſhed. The San Julian, of ſeventy-eight guns, was alſo taken, the officers changed, and a lieutenant, with ſeventy Britiſh ſeamen, were put on board; but the veſſel unfortunately was driven on ſhore among the breakers, and the victors, in their turn, experienced the caprice of war, in being themſelves made priſoners: a ſimilar fate attended another of the ſame force, with this difference, however, that the veſſel was totally loſt. Four ſhips of the line and two frigates eſcaped to Cadiz, two of the former being greatly damaged. The admiral proceeded immediately to the relief of Gibraltar, and executed that commiſſion with equal ſucceſs. About the middle of February he ſailed with a part of the fleet to the Weſt Indies, leaving the Spaniſh prizes with a ſquadron under the care of Rear-admiral Digby, who, in his way home, captured a French man of war, the Prothée, of ſixty-four guns, and ſeven hundred men.

Even in America, which had hitherto been the ſcene of defeat and diſappointment, a more cheerful proſpect appeared in the beginning of the campaign of 1780. It had long been a favourite object with ſeveral commanders of ſuppoſed eminence, to transfer the ſeat of war from the northern

to the ſouthern colonies, where the friends of government were ſuppoſed to be more numerous, and where the population being leſs concentrated, it would have been more difficult to aſſemble, on a ſudden, multitudes of temporary ſoldiers, ſuch as had ſurrounded the army of Burgoyne. The ſuitableneſs of the climate alſo for winter campaigns, afforded a ſtill further inducement. This plan was therefore carried into execution at the period of which we are treating, by Sir Henry Clinton, and at firſt with ſufficient ſucceſs, to raiſe the moſt ſanguine expectations in the miniſtry and their deluded friends. The departure of the French fleet under D'Eſtaign, was no ſooner known and confirmed, than Sir Henry Clinton committed the command of the Royal army at New York to General Kniphauſen, and embarked for the ſouthward with four flank battalions, twelve regiments, and a corps of Britiſh, Heſſian, and Provincials, a powerful detachment of artillery, and two hundred and fifty cavalry, in all about ſeven thouſand. He arrived at John's Iſland, about thirty miles from Charleſtown, in the beginning of February; and his landing diffuſed through the whole province ſuch a general terror, that the houſe of aſſembly was immediately diſſolved, and a kind of dictatorial power committed to Governor Rutledge for a limited time. The American lines at Charleſtown were no other than field works; yet the Britiſh General thought it prudent to treat them with the reſpectful homage of three parallels. The whole force of Gen. Lincoln did not at any time exceed three thouſand men; and on the 18th of April, Sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement from New York, equal in number to the whole American army. After a protracted ſiege, therefore, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, which it would be tedious to relate in detail, the

town

town ſurrendered on the 12th of May. The return of priſoners, including the militia and town's-men, amounted to five thouſand; but the preciſe number of the continental troops was one thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, of which five hundred were in the hoſpitals. It is remarked, that this was the firſt inſtance in which the Americans attempted the defence of a town; and the event did not afford much encouragement to them to proceed in this mode of reſiſtance: it was indeed found much better policy to ſacrifice the towns of the union, than to endanger the whole by riſking too much in their defence.

The Britiſh commander himſelf appeared in ſome meaſure intoxicated with his ſucceſs. He iſſued ſeveral pompous proclamations, inviting the people of the diſtrict to return home, and "aſſiſt in driving their *oppreſſors* and all the miſeries of war from their borders." Such is the abuſe of language which politicians employ, when they addreſs the people.

The general, however, did not entirely truſt to the charms of his eloquence on this occaſion, but took more effectual methods to ſecure the general ſubmiſſion of the country. Garriſons were poſted in different parts of the province to awe the inhabitants; and two thouſand men advancing towards North Carolina, put to flight ſeveral ſmall parties of Americans, who were proceeding from the north to the relief of Charleſtown. One of theſe parties, commanded by Col. Buford, and conſiſting of only three hundred men, was overtaken at Wachaws, and ſurrounded by Col. Tarlton, at the head of ſeven hundred. The Americans ſcarcely made any reſiſtance, but laid down their arms, notwithſtanding which they were cut to pieces in cold blood, and in the very act of intreating quarter. The wtetched

wretched miniſtry of Great Britain, and almoſt all whom they employed, appeared to be actuated by the ſame ſpirit: what they wanted in ability, they endeavoured to compenſate for in violence and outrage.

Incapacity, indeed, marked every meaſure which was adopted by the agents of miniſtry; and their own ill-conduct in the end undid all the advantages their arms had gained. Inſtead of conciliating the inhabitants, every thing was done to render them ſtill more diſſatisfied, and diſaffected to the Britiſh government. The war in the ſouthern provinces ſoon became almoſt entirely predatory. The rebels, as they were called, were plundered without mercy, and without meaſure; and the ſpoils were ſo conſiderable, that the dividend of a major-general, on one occaſion, amounted to above four thouſand pounds. Sir Henry Clinton returned in June to New York, and left the command in the ſouth to Lord Cornwallis. The ſame good ſucceſs, however, ſtill attended the Britiſh arms. At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninety-ſix, the Americans laid down their arms, and ſubmitted either as priſoners or ſubjects. The people in general ſeemed alſo to abandon all ſchemes of reſiſtance. The impoſſibility of flying with their families and effects, and their entire diſcouragement from ſeeing no army to protect them, deprived the moſt ſanguine republicans of every hope, and almoſt annihilated every wiſh to defend their country; and except the extremities of the ſtate bordering on North Carolina, the whole might be ſaid to be completely ſubdued.

Thus, for the moment, every circumſtance both at home and abroad ſeemed to conſpire to eſtabliſh the miniſtry ſtill more firmly in their ſituations; and the ſtorm of public indignation which had been ſo

long collecting, and which threatened in the ſpring to break over their heads, ſeemed completely diſpelled. The war, inſtead of being abandoned, was to be carried on with redoubled vigour; and, as the parliament drew near to the legal term of its exiſtence, in order to anticipate the efforts of oppoſition in the elections, and to take the country by ſurpriſe, Lord North aſſumed ſufficient courage to determine on its premature diſſolution, which accordingly took place on the firſt of September.

The ſucceeding part of the campaign was marked with leſs deciſive ſucceſs. Sir George Rodney arrived in the Weſt Indies, about the end of March; and the 17th of April produced an action between the Britiſh fleet, which conſiſted of twenty ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, and that of the French, under M. de Guichen, conſiſting of twenty-three ſail of the line and a fifty-gun ſhip. The action continued for more than three hours, and victory was claimed by both ſides, but no ſhip was taken on either. The Engliſh had one hundred and twenty men killed, and three hundred and fifty-three wounded. This was followed by two other partial and indeciſive engagements, on the 15th and 19th of May: in the former of theſe, the fleets did not meet till ſeven o'clock in the evening, and only a few ſhips were engaged; the latter was merely a partial attack on the rear of the French: in both theſe engagements, of the Engliſh there were about ſixty-eight killed, and three hundred wounded. In the whole of the three actions the French loſt three hundred and fifty-eight killed, and had eight hundred and twenty wounded.

The hoſtile fleets continued their manœuvres among the different iſlands, till the beginning of June,

June, when De Guichen was joined by a Spaniſh fleet of twelve ſail of the line, under Don Solano; but a dreadful ſickneſs and mortality which prevailed in the Spaniſh fleet, diſabled the French admiral from taking advantage of this circumſtance; and though the capture of Jamaica was a favourite object, he was obliged to abandon this deſign, and ſoon after returned to Europe. If the views of the combined courts, however, were fruſtrated in this manner,—on the other hand, the high expectations formed by the Britiſh miniſtry, from the ſucceſsful outſet of Sir George Rodney, were equally diſappointed. The French and Spaniards were enabled, after all their loſſes, to maintain an evident ſuperiority in the Weſt Indies; and if the Britiſh fleet and iſlands did not fall a ſacrifice, it was owing to the ſingular interpoſition of Providence, and not to the abilities of the miniſtry.

On the continent of America, favourable as the proſpect had appeared, and particularly in the ſouthern provinces, it was ſoon clouded by the flagrant ill-conduct of the agents of miniſtry themſelves. In the provinces of Georgia and South Carolina, we remarked, that ſince the ſucceſſes of Sir Henry Clinton, every thing bore the aſpect of a peaceable ſubmiſſion to the Britiſh government. The huſbandman literally beat his ſword into a ploughſhare, and returned to his labours with cheerfulneſs and alacrity; and the citizen conſented willingly to reſume his traffic, and to partake of thoſe profits which the renewed intercourſe with England afforded, and which were even increaſed by the profuſion of a Britiſh army.

It is the great misfortune of weak and ill-diſciplined minds, to be incapable of diſcerning that point of moderation, where to ſtop is prudence—to proceed, inevitable ruin. Not content with the

ſubmiſſion of the coloniſts, the new governor conceived the abſurd project of making them acceſſory to the ſubjection of their fellow citizens; and ſet the dangerous example of diſſolving, on his part, the compact which had juſt been eſtabliſhed. Proclamations were iſſued, ſtating, "That it was proper for all perſons to take an active part in ſettling and ſecuring his Majeſty's government;" and declaring, "That all the inhabitants of the provinces, who were then priſoners upon parole (thoſe who were taken in Fort Moultrie and Charleſtown, and ſuch as were in actual confinement, excepted) ſhould, from and after the 20th of June, be freed from their parole, and reſtored to all rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants." It was farther declared, in the ſame proclamation, "That all perſons under the deſcription above mentioned, who ſhould afterwards neglect to return to their allegiance, and to his Majeſty's government, ſhould be conſidered as enemies and rebels to the ſame, and treated accordingly." In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, levies were immediately begun in the ſouthern colonies, and enrolments made of ſeveral provincial corps.

In this inſtance, however, the miniſtry evinced their groſs ignorance of human nature, and of the principles of human action. Men will ſacrifice much of the favourite prejudices of their hearts to the enjoyment of eaſe, proſperity, and domeſtic comfort; but, if excited to action, then the natural and habitual propenſities will reſume their proper channel. Courtiers and military men are too apt to judge of others from themſelves, and to aſcribe to plain citizens the ſame laxity of principles, and the ſame facility in transferring their

their obedience from one maſter or commander to another. The temper of the Americans, therefore, in this inſtance, entirely diſappointed the expectations of the Britiſh generals. To exhort them to reſume their peaceful occupations, and to live in plenty and in quiet, was very different from the hoſtile mandate which ordered them to join in the ſubjugation and maſſacre of their countrymen, friends, neighbours, and relations. Againſt ſuch a propoſal, every feeling of humanity, every ſentiment of honour and conſcience revolted; and it muſt be immediately obvious, that if they were to be forced to engage in hoſtilities, the natural party on which to riſk their lives, was that of their country.

Some feeble attempts of the royaliſts to riſe in North Carolina, were cruſhed by the exertions of General Rutherford; and the republicans to the ſouth, rendered deſperate by the ill-concerted meaſures of the Britiſh government, gradually formed under Colonel Sumpter, a diſtinguiſhed partizan, who was enabled, in the beginning of July, to take the field. The firſt effort of renewed warfare was on the 12th of July, when a ſmall party of Colonel Sumpter's men attacked and routed a party of the royal troops of Williamſon's plantation. On the 30th, the ſame officer was enabled to make a ſpirited attack on the Britiſh poſt at Rocky Mount; but as he had no artillery, and they were ſecured under a rampart of earth, filled in between logs, he could make no impreſſion, and was obliged to retreat. Not diſcouraged by this, the colonel, on the 7th of Auguſt, attacked another of the royal detachments at Hanging Rock. In this engagement, the Britiſh were entirely defeated; and the Prince of Wales's regiment was reduced in numbers from two hundred and ſeventy-eight to nine.

In the mean time auxiliaries had arrived from Maryland and Delaware; and General Gates was appointed to the command of the American army, which, however, on the 14th of Auguſt, did not exceed four thouſand men:—with this ſmall force it was the intention of the general to attack Lord Rawdon, who was poſted at Camden; but, on the approach of Gates, Lord Cornwallis haſtened from Charleſtown, with a large reinforcement. The advance-guards of the hoſtile armies met on the night of the 15th, and engaged; but the raw American militia, harraſſed by poor living, and a long march, gave way almoſt on the firſt fire. In the morning the engagement became general; but the continental troops were the only part of the American army that ſtood their ground, though they did not exceed nine hundred infantry, with about ſeventy cavalry. Unable, however, to contend againſt a ſuperior force, they were obliged at laſt to give way, and the victory was complete in favour of the Britiſh. The Americans loſt the whole of their artillery, two hundred waggons, and eight field-pieces, and two thouſand ſtand of arms. Lord Cornwallis eſtimated the ſlain at eight hundred, and the priſoners at one thouſand. The whole loſs of the Britiſh was not more than three hundred and twenty-four.

The defeat of Gates was immediately followed by the ſurpriſe and diſperſion of Colonel Sumpter's corps at Fiſh Kill. The moſt ſevere puniſhments and ſanguinary executions followed theſe ſucceſſes. Lord Cornwallis, in his general orders, ſays, "I "have given orders, that all the inhabitants of "this province, who had ſubmitted, and who have "taken part in this revolt, ſhould be puniſhed "with the utmoſt rigour—I have ordered, in the "moſt poſitive manner, that every militia-man, who "had

" had borne arms with us, and had afterwards " joined the enemy, ſhould be immediately hanged."

There can be little doubt, from the general good character which his Lordſhip bears, that theſe exceſſes were executed, merely in conſequence of orders from that deſpicable cabal, which unfortunately, at this period, diſgraced the Britiſh cabinet; men in whoſe hands no undertaking could proſper; and whoſe malignity and want of principle, was only happily counteracted by their weakneſs and folly. In conſequence of theſe ſanguinary orders, a conſiderable number of the unfortunate inhabitants, who had been compelled, by the neceſſities of their families, and the proſpect of ſaving their little property, to ſubmit, were *hanged* by martial law at Auguſta, Camden, and other places. Some of the moſt reſpectable perſons in the province, who had declined exchanging their parole, for the protection of Britiſh ſubjects, were put on board a ſhip, and ſent forcibly to Auguſtine; and when it was remonſtrated, that this proceeding was directly contrary to the terms of the capitulation of Charleſtown, they received no farther ſatisfaction than the anſwer:—" That the meaſure " had been adopted from motives of policy." The eſtates of all who had not ſubmitted, were ſequeſtered, and every thing that could defeat the hopes of the nation was acted by the agents of government.

A young man of deſperate fortunes, and of no ability, whoſe father had been the maſter of a ſlave veſſel from Liverpool to the coaſt of Guinea, whom we have already had occcaſion to mention by the name of Tarleton, was employed as the wretched inſtrument in theſe tranſactions. In ſeveral incurſions he burnt a number of houſes, behaved moſt cruelly to the women and children, and actually beat, with his own hands, a widow lady of the name of Richardſon: he ſpoiled equally

Whig and Tory, and in general deprived them of their clothes, and other neceſſaries.

Such conduct, though it might intimidate ſome, was by no means calculated to conciliate the many. Conſiderable numbers were rendered deſperate, and retired to conceal themſelves under the cover of the woods, while others only waited an opportunity to declare their ſentiments, and to die for their country. Among theſe, a Mr. Marion, with only ſixteen companions, made ſeveral bold and fortunate ſallies upon the Britiſh; and, from the reports of his ſucceſs, his corps gradually increaſed: in one of theſe, with only fifty-three men, he defeated two hundred of the royaliſts. For theſe ſervices he was ſoon after rewarded by Governor Rutledge with the rank of brigadier-general. Colonel Clark alſo, having collected a band of fugitives, marched, at their head, into Georgia, and attacked Auguſta; but the fort being reinforced, the Americans were repulſed, and the priſoners, to the number of thirty, were hanged.

Theſe ſeverities ſerved ſtill farther to exaſperate the people; and, by an impulſe of indignation or deſpair, without any apparent deſign or concert, a powerful combination was ſoon formed of ſeveral detached parties, ſcattered through the country. By a diviſion of this irregular army, Colonel Ferguſon, on the 7th of October, was defeated and killed at King's Mountain, on the confines of North and South Carolina, when the Americans made eight hundred and ten priſoners, with the loſs of only twenty-two of their own men. To the diſhonour of this party, it muſt be recorded, that, irritated by the ſeverities they had experienced from the Britiſh, they were tempted to retaliate, by hanging up ten of the priſoners, whom they conſidered as traitors to the American cauſe.

cauſe. Sumpter alſo, now advanced to the rank of brigadier-general, after his defeat on the 18th of Auguſt collected another band of adventurers, and kept the advanced parties of the Britiſh in check. Such, indeed, was his conduct and ſpirit, that though he had but a handful of men, he ſeldom turned his back upon the enemy. On the 12th of November he was attacked at Broad River, by Major Wemys, who commanded a conſiderable detachment of infantry and dragoons; but the Engliſh were defeated, and the commanding officer taken priſoner. In eight days afterwards, he was attacked by Colonel Tarleton, with more than double his force; but the ſuperior abilities of Sumpter more than compenſated for the inferiority of numbers. He forced Tarleton ignominiouſly to retreat with a conſiderable loſs, among whom were three officers.

In the northern colonies, the Britiſh diſgraced themſelves by proceedings ſimilar to thoſe in the ſouth, and particularly by the deliberate murder of a Mrs. Caldwell, the wife of a reſpectable preſbyterian miniſter, in the Jerſeys, and by wantonly burning his houſe, with twelve others, and the preſbyterian meeting. After this exploit, General Kniphauſen (for, to the honour of Britain, a German commanded the expedition) proceeded at the head of five thouſand troops towards Springfield, where, however, they met with ſo ſpirited a reſiſtance from General Greene, at the head of only ſeven hundred men, that after burning the town, they were obliged to return. After this the troops, by command of the miniſtry, it is ſaid, were entirely occupied in a predatory war; fitting out occaſionally ſmall expeditions, and breaking into warehouſes, carrying off cattle, burning ſolitary houſes, and murdering the defenceleſs inhabitants.

The

The Americans, however, in the northern ſtates, ſuffered more from the depreciation of their paper currency, and from the want of proviſion and clothing for their troops, than from the arms of their enemies. In this ſituation the different ſtates adopted the only policy which could poſſibly ſave them; the executive department of government is always ill executed where it is entruſted to many. In the intervals of general tranquillity, ſuch an arrangement may anſwer the general purpoſes of internal adminiſtration; but in time of war a more vigorous government is required. The ſtates, therefore, veſted a large portion of authority in the hands of a few perſons on whom they could place dependance. General Waſhington had almoſt a dictatorial portion of power aſſigned to him; and the different ſtates delegated ſimilar authorities to their reſpective governors.

The ſuccours which had been promiſed from France, were delayed by ſeveral unforeſeen accidents; and though they ſailed on the 1ſt of May, they did not arrive at Rhode Iſland till the 10th of July. The armament conſiſted of ſeven ſail or the line, and five frigates, under the command of M. de Ternay, with a fleet of tranſports, conveying ſix thouſand choſen troops, under the command of the Count de Rochambeau. This force the French general repreſented as only the van-guard of a very conſiderable army, deſtined by His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for the aid of the American republic.

The total defect of ability, which we have ſo frequently been compelled to remark in the Britiſh miniſtry, obliged them to ſupply the deficiency by the only reſources of effeminate minds, artifice and fraud; and as they had found venality and corruption the only ſucceſsful engines at home, they

they reſolved to try their influence on American virtue. In the year 1778, they had in vain attempted, through the medium of their commiſſioners, to bribe ſome members of the Congreſs. In another attempt they were more ſucceſsful.

The active ſervices of the American general Arnold had rendered him a favourite with both the ſoldiers and the people; and, though by his imprudence entirely, the deſcent upon Canada, in 1775, had failed; this, and other pieces of miſconduct, were overlooked, in conſideration of the energy which he had diſplayed upon ſome occaſions. As his conduct had attracted ſuch general approbation, his ſervices had been moſt liberally rewarded; but his extravagance, oſtentation, and prodigality, far exceeded every means of ſupply. His debts increaſed beyond a poſſibility of diſcharging them. "His love of pleaſure," ſays Dr. Ramſay, "produced the love of money, and that extinguiſhed "all ſenſibility to the obligations of honour and "duty. The calls of luxury demanded gratification, "though at the expence of fame and country. "Contracts were made, ſpeculations entered into, "and partnerſhips inſtituted, which could not bear "inveſtigation. Oppreſſion, extortion, miſapplica-"tion of public money and property, furniſhed "him with the farther means of gratifying his paſ-"ſions." As the miniſtry of Great Britain were not unpractiſed in the arts of corruption, they knew to what quarter they could moſt ſucceſsfully apply. A correſpondence was eſtabliſhed between Arnold and a young officer of the name of André, at that time adjutant-general to Clinton's army, under the feigned names of Guſtavus and Anderſon. The ſtation in which Arnold was poſted at Weſt Point, was extremely favourable to the traitorous deſign. It has been called the Gibraltar of America: it

commands the navigation of the north river, and was the thoroughfare of communication between the eaſtern and northern ſtates. The object of the negociation was to induce Arnold to make ſuch a diſpoſition of his forces, that Sir Henry Clinton ſhould be enabled to ſurpriſe Weſt Point; in which caſe the garriſon would have been ſo completely in his power, that the troops muſt have been obliged to lay down their arms, or be cut to pieces.

To favour the communication the Vulture ſloop of war had been previouſly ſtationed in North River, as near to Arnold's poſts as was practicable, without exciting ſuſpicion. In order effectually to ſettle the whole plan of operation, a conference took place; and on the night of September 21ſt, a boat was ſent from the ſhore to the Vulture, for Major André. Arnold met him on the beach, without the poſts of either army. The negociation was not ſettled till it was too near the dawn of day for André to return, and he was conducted within the American poſts, where he ſtaid the whole day, and at night changed his uniform, which he had hitherto worn under his ſurtout, for a common coat; and being furniſhed with a paſsport from Arnold, under the name of John Anderſon, proceeded on horſeback for New York. In his way he was met by three privates of the New York militia, who were out on a ſcouting party: one of them ſprang from the cover, and ſeized André's horſe by the bridle. The Major, inſtead of producing his paſs, aſked the man "where he belonged to?" who anſwered, "To below," meaning New-York;—and André, ſuſpecting no deceit, replied—"So do I," and declared himſelf a Britiſh officer, and begged that he might not be detained. Upon the captors proceeding to ſearch him, he diſcovered

diſcovered his miſtake, and offered them a purſe of gold and a valuable watch, if they would ſuffer him to eſcape; with promiſes of permanent proviſion, and future promotion, if they would accompany him to New York. It was a noble inſtance of integrity, that theſe three poor men reſiſted every bribe, and conducted him to Colonel Jameſon, who had the command of the ſcouting-parties. It is proper to add, that Congreſs afterwards rewarded each of theſe deſerving ſoldiers with a penſion for life of about 50l. per annum, and a ſilver medal, with the motto "Fidelity." Their names deſerve to be recorded, viz. John Paulding, David Williams, and Iſaac Van Vert.

It was a lamentable overſight in Colonel Jameſon to ſuffer André to write to Arnold, by which circumſtance the traitor eſcaped the fate that ſo very deſervedly awaited him—if to live in ignominy be indeed a bleſſing! Papers of the utmoſt importance, in Arnold's hand-writing, were found upon André, chiefly ſecreted in his boots: among theſe were exact returns of the ſtate of the forces, ordnance, &c. with critical remarks on the works, and other directions to the aſſailants. To the great honour of General Waſhington, it muſt not be forgotten, that he did not attempt to detain Mrs. Arnold, but ſent her by a ſafe convoy to her huſband, with all his baggage and effects.

After a fair trial before a board of fourteen general officers, French and American, Major André was condemned to be executed as a ſpy. Great intereſt was made for him by the Britiſh commanders; but the Americans conſidered the precedent as ſo entirely dangerous, that they would conſent to his releaſe on the ſole condition of Arnold being delivered up to them in his ſtead; which on the part of the Britiſh was alſo refuſed.

To

To this unfortunate victim of miniſterial treachery, the public homage of the nation has been voted; and his name has been conſecrated in ſong. Impartial hiſtory can only do juſtice to his memory as a man of courage—there his panegyric muſt end. He was an idle and diſſipated young man, who preferred the mercenary proſtitution of his valour, to the truly honourable occupation of a merchant, to which he had been brought up. Abhorring, as *we* do, the *trade* of *war*, in all its forms, and with all its appendages, we might be diſpoſed to queſtion upon general principles, the lawfulneſs of taking away the life of an individual upon any ſuch occaſion as that for which he ſuffered; but for thoſe who plead for the legality of a ſtate of warfare in civilized ſociety, to queſtion the grounds upon which André ſuffered, would be the extreme of abſurdity; ſince, by the military code of every nation, he could be conſidered in no other character than that of a ſpy.

It ought to be mentioned in juſtice to the American officers, that in an eight-years war, and among the thouſands that muſt have been expoſed to ſimilar temptations, but *one Arnold* could be found. The fugitive general attempted, in ſeveral publications, to juſtify his own conduct, and to perſuade others to follow his example; but ſuch was the contempt and diſguſt which he had excited, that his addreſſes produced, even in the common ſoldiers, an effect directly contrary to what he intended; ſince it is recorded as a memorable circumſtance, that though the crime of deſertion had been common in the American camp, previous to Arnold's treaſon, it *entirely ceaſed* at that remarkable period of the war.

The

The campaign in the northern ſtates cloſed with a ſmall piece of ſucceſs on the part of the Americans. On the 4th of November Major Talmage croſſed the Sound to Long Iſland, and, with only eighty men, ſurpriſed Fort George. He killed and wounded eight of the Britiſh, and took fifty-five priſoners, with no other misfortune than that of one private man wounded.

The Spaniards, on the American frontier, were not inactive during theſe tranſactions. Don Bernardo de Galvez, the governor of Louiſiana, was one of the firſt to proclaim the independence of America; and, in the ſpring of 1780, aſſembled a ſmall force at New Orleans, and ſurpriſed and made himſelf maſter of Mobille, and all the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſippi, which the Britiſh miniſtry had moſt ſhamefully neglected. He ſeized alſo a royal ſloop of war which was ſtationed on lake Ponchartrain, and a number of veſſels with valuable cargoes, ſome of which were deſtined for the ſupply of the Britiſh troops. The Spaniſh governor behaved with great honour and liberality to the Engliſh priſoners.

The origin and the ſeat of the war being ſo diſtant, we have little intereſting to report of the tranſactions in Europe. The ſiege of Gibraltar ſtill continued; and the blockade was renewed after Admiral Rodney's departure; but the Spaniards, under Don Barcelo, were defeated on the 7th of June, in an attempt to burn the Engliſh ſhipping in the harbour there. In the command of the channel fleet, Sir Charles Hardy, who died on the 19th of May, was ſucceeded by admiral Geary. He ſailed in the beginning of June, and was not out many days before he was ſo fortunate as to intercept a conſiderable convoy of French Weſt-India ſhips, homeward bound, from

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St. Domingo, and captured twelve rich veſſels. This advantage was, however, counterbalanced by the loſs of almoſt the whole outward-bound convoy from England to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, which on the 29th of July was taken by the combined fleets. The whole number of Engliſh veſſels loſt, on this occaſion, was fifty-five, among which were five Eaſt-India ſhips, and ſeveral tranſports with ſoldiers and ſtores. The greater part of the Quebec fleet was alſo taken by the American privateers.

As if Great Britain had not been already engaged in a conteſt of ſufficient magnitude, the infatuated miniſtry brought upon the country one more enemy before the cloſe of the year. But to explain the origin and progreſs of the rupture with Holland, it will be neceſſary to revert to ſome tranſactions, which the courſe of the hiſtory would not before permit us to introduce.

It is a remarkable fact, and yet none remains ſo completely uncontradicted by the evidence of hiſtory, that the Britiſh nation never yet was known to extend any peculiar favour to the deſpots of the continent, without having occaſion preſently to deplore and repent of their folly. Have we expended our treaſure, loaded our people with taxes, deſtroyed our commerce and manufactures on any occaſion, to recover or to win a tract of territory for theſe ungrateful tyrants—and what has uniformly been our reward?—A declaration of war, as ſoon as it ſuited their purpoſe to form a new alliance; or the undermining of our political intereſts, by the moſt inſidious intrigues. From the two powers which had been moſt particularly favoured by this country, originated, in the courſe of this year, the moſt injurious ſyſtem of treachery that ever was planned in the cabinets of princes.

princes—from Pruſſia, whoſe territories had been twice reſcued from the rapacious Houſe of Auſtria, by the interpoſition of Britain; and from Ruſſia, whoſe whole naval power, and much of whoſe political conſequence, was entirely produced by our injudicious partiality. It will be eaſily perceived that we allude to the celebrated *armed neutrality*, which in the early part of this year was publicly propoſed by the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and acceded to by almoſt all the different courts of Europe; a meaſure intended to ruin, for ever, the trade of England, by diverting it into other channels; to annihilate all the boaſted privileges of the Britiſh flag; and which was only wanting, to complete the humiliation of the country under the diſgraceful adminiſtration of North and Sandwich.

The baſis of the Ruſſian manifeſto, on which the armed neutrality was founded, was the propoſition, "that free bottoms make free goods." In conſequence of this, the Empreſs claimed for all the neutral powers, a full right to ſupply the powers at war with every neceſſary commodity, and even with military ſtores; the principle was even carried ſo far as to aſſert, that the neutral bottom has a right to convey, even coaſtwiſe, and to render free every ſpecies of goods and merchandize from one part of a belligerent ſtate to another; and the manifeſto invited the neutral ſtates of Europe to form a combination, and to eſtabliſh a powerful maritime force to compel obedience to the principles and objects of the league.

Upon enlarged and liberal principles of general policy, the propoſition that neutral nations have a right to convey commodities, without impediment, from one belligerent ſtate to another, ought certainly to be admitted; and thoſe nations

which are weak, or unfortunate enough to involve themſelves in war, ought to abide by the conſequences. But the ſtarting of ſuch a principle at the preſent criſis, and in contradiction to all former practice, could only be conſidered as an inſidious attempt to take advantage of the ruinous ſtate to which unwiſe counſels had reduced Great Britain; to deprive her of the only chance of ſucceſs which remained to her, that of diſtreſſing her enemies by her naval ſuperiority; and in the end to annihilate her commerce, by diverting its courſe into foreign channels.

The meaſure is ſaid to have originated in the crooked politics of that deteſtable character, the late King of Pruſſia*; and as it was ſome time in agitation, the Britiſh cabinet endeavoured, as much as was poſſible, to anticipate its effect. In the beginning of the year, therefore, and before the appearance of the Ruſſian manifeſto, the Britiſh government having received information, that a large fleet of Dutch merchant ſhips, laden with naval and military ſtores for the ports of France, intended to take advantage of Count Byland's ſailing with a ſmall ſquadron for the Mediterranean, and to put themſelves under his protection, Captain Fielding was diſpatched with a proper force to examine the convoy, and to ſeize ſuch articles as ſhould be deemed contraband.

The Dutch admiral proved leſs complying than the court of Great Britain expected, upon this occaſion. Permiſſion to ſearch the merchant ſhips was peremptorily refuſed; and the boats which Commodore Fielding diſpatched for that purpoſe, were fired at, and prevented from executing his orders. The commodore then proceeded to fire a ſhot a-head

* The enemy of Religion cannot be the friend of mankind.

a-head of the Dutch admiral, which was anſwered by a broadſide; and Count Byland having received one in return, and not being in a condition to ſupport the engagement, ſtruck his colours. Moſt of the ſuſpected veſſels eſcaped during the conteſt. The few that remained were ſtopped, and the Dutch admiral was then informed that he was at liberty to hoiſt his colours, and proſecute his voyage; he however choſe only to accept the former part of the offer; he hoiſted his colours, but refuſed to ſeparate from any part of his convoy: he was accordingly, with the reſt of his ſquadron, brought to Spithead. Strong remonſtrances were addreſſed to the miniſtry by the States General on this tranſaction, but no ſatisfaction was obtained.

In the mean time, the 26th of February, the Ruſſian declaration reſpecting the armed neutrality appeared. It was acceded to by all the northern ſtates, and met with the full approbation of France and Spain. England was too much depreſſed and degraded to reſent the injury: ſhe expoſtulated with the court of Peterſburgh in vain; and the miniſtry, in that petty and puerile ſpirit which dictated all their meaſures, determined to direct the whole of their vengeance againſt that power which was leaſt able to oppoſe, and reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity to break with Holland.

Inſtead, therefore, of attending to the repreſentations of the ſtates, with reſpect to the affair of Count Byland and Commodore Fielding, on the 17th of April, a moſt hoſtile proclamation was publiſhed by the King of Great Britain, ſtating that repeated memorials having been preſented by his Majeſty's ambaſſador to the States General, and they not having given any deciſive anſwer, their conduct could only be conſidered as a dere-

liction of the alliance ſo long ſubſiſting between the two countries; and conſequently the United Provinces were only to be regarded as on the ſame footing with other neutral powers, not privileged by treaty.

The deep policy of the Dutch did not fall into the ſnare which was laid for them by the Britiſh miniſtry. They ſaw that more numerous and permanent advantages were to be derived from the cultivation of a pacific ſyſtem, than from precipitating themſelves violently into all the horrors and calamities of war. It was not long, however, before an occaſion preſented, which removed every difficulty from the cabinet of Great Britain. On the third of September the Mercury packet, from Philadelphia for Holland, was captured off the banks of Newfoundland by the Veſtal frigate. On board the packet was Mr. Laurens, late Preſident of the Congreſs, who was proceeding on a diplomatic commiſſion, probably of a private nature, to the States General. Before the veſſel ſtruck, he had thrown his papers overboard; but the greater part of them were recovered, and ſubmitted to the inſpection of the privy council; and among them it is ſaid there was found the ſketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the two republics, which had been examined and approved by M. Van Berkel, counſellor and grand penſionary of Amſterdam. Mr. Laurens, after having been examined by the privy council, was committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, on a charge of high treaſon; and ſtrong repreſentations were made by the Britiſh ambaſſador at the Hague, to the States General, demanding that "exemplary puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on Van Berkel and his accomplices, as diſturbers of the public peace, and violators of the rights of nations."

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The States General obſerved their uſual caution on this occaſion; but their deliberate proceedings ſuited ſo litttle the objects of the Britiſh miniſtry, that orders were iſſued for the immediate recal of their ambaſſador, and a declaration of war was actually publiſhed againſt Holland on the 20th of December. The Count De Welderen endeavoured ſtrenuouſly to avert the commencement of hoſtilities before his departure, and wrote a letter to Lord Stormont, the ſecretary of ſtate, containing ſome propoſitions; but his letter was returned unopened.

The imbecility and neglect which characteriſed every part of the miniſter's conduct, had, in the courſe of this year, nearly proved fatal to the Britiſh intereſts in India. Intent ſolely on the gratification of a puerile revenge on the American colonies, and active only in providing for each parliamentary campaign, adminiſtration left to chance thoſe immenſe and valuable territories which had been acquired at the expence of ſo much treaſure, and what is of more conſequence, of ſuch torrents of blood. No regular ſyſtem was adopted for the government of thoſe provinces, which Britiſh valour and Britiſh rapacity had wreſted from the native princes of the Eaſt. No rule of ſubordination, and ſcarcely of correſpondence, was eſtabliſhed between the different preſidencies. The whole politics of India were committed to the mercenary ſervants of the Company, who, though confeſſedly men of ability, were yet too intent upon their own ſelfiſh projects for the acquiſition of wealth, to entertain any liberal ſyſtem of policy; and whoſe whole time and attention was conſequently conſumed in low intrigues with the native princes, and in ſchemes

of conqueſt connected by no regular plan, and at beſt but of dubious advantage.

Several cauſes had concurred to inſpire the native powers of India with general diſguſt and diſapprobation of the politics of England. The humiliation and degradation of the unfortunate repreſentative of the Mogul empire—and the grants, which might almoſt be termed fraudulent, obtained from him of certain tracts of territory, abſolutely in the poſſeſſion of other princes, could not be effaced from their minds. The depriving him afterwards, without any plea or juſtification, of the ſtipend which had been allotted to him by themſelves as a tribute for the kingdom of Bengal; the motives which cauſed the elevation of Sujah ul Dowla to a ſituation in which he became poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth and dominion; and hiring out the troops of the Company for the extermination of the Rohilla nation, were alarming circumſtances to other powers. Independent of theſe, however, there were ſome ſpecial cauſes of diſguſt, which affected in particular the Nizam of the Decan, and Hyder Ally, the Sultan of Myſore: and with the Mahratta chiefs, the Company, at the period of which we are treating, might be conſidered as in a ſtate of actual hoſtility.

The Nizam was juſtly diſguſted with the preſidency of Madras, for having procured from his brother Bazalet Jung, a dependant prince, the ceſſion of the circar of Guntoor, without his (the Nizam's) conſent; and to ſecure their new acquiſition, they had imprudently marched a body of troops through Hyder's territory. The monarch of Myſore had another ſerious cauſe of complaint, which was no leſs than a breach of the treaty concluded between him and the ſervants of the Company, in the year 1761, in their refuſing the ſtipulated

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ſuccours in his late wars with the Mahrattas. He was, beſides, the devoted ally of France, who omitted no means to engage him in hoſtilities with the Engliſh Company.

To detail the cauſes which produced the diſputes with the Mahrattas, would involve a chain of Indian politics for a ſeries of years, and would be inconſiſtent with the plan of a general hiſtory. The Mahratta empire, ſince the decline and fall of that of the Mogul, upon whoſe ruins it grew, may juſtly be conſidered as the moſt important in India. Their dominions are extenſive; their conjunctive annual revenues amount to ſeventeen millions ſterling; and they are able to bring into the field not leſs than three or four hundred thouſand of the fineſt cavalry of the Eaſt. This immenſe power, is indeed weakened by being divided among a number of princes, all of whom, however, acknowledge a paramount ſovereignty in the court of Poonah, the capital of the empire, where the Ram Rajah originally governed. In the courſe of one of thoſe revolutions ſo common in the Eaſt, but an example of which has not occurred in Europe ſince the days of Charles Martel, the Ram Rajah was dethroned by his prime miniſter; and the heir of the throne being kept in a ſplendid confinement, the ſovereignty was exerciſed for ſome years by the family of the uſurper, ſtill retaining only the title of Paiſhwa, or miniſter. The lineal ſucceſſion being ſtrictly preſerved in this, as well as in all other dignities, it was interrupted by the ambition of Ragonaut Row, well known by the name of Ragoba, who cauſed his nephew, the reigning Paiſhwa (with the care of whom, during his minority, he was ſolemnly entruſted) to be aſſaſſinated, in the hope of ſecuring to himſelf the

ſovereignty. In this, however, he was diſappointed; a univerſal clamour of indignation pervaded the whole of the Mahratta empire. He with difficulty eſcaped the vengeance of the people; but, to the diſhonour of Britain, he was received and protected by the preſidency of Bombay.

To this circumſtance, and to their repeated attempts to interfere, in favour of Ragonaut, in the Poonah government; and to ſome inſtances of perfidy and duplicity in the diſregarding of treaties, are to be attributed the diſputes and hoſtilities which, about this period, took place between the Mahrattas and the different preſidencies.

Thus a foundation was laid for that famous confederacy which, in the year 1779, was formed between the Nizam, Hyder Ally, and the Mahrattas, the object of which was no leſs than the complete expulſion of the Britiſh from the continent of India. By the addreſs of the Governor General and the Supreme Council, the Nizam was detached from the league; but it does not appear that effectual meaſures were taken with Hyder for the preſervation of peace.

As the plan was not unknown to the different preſidencies, preparations were made early in the year 1780, for invading the Mahratta territories; and on the 15th of February, General Goddard marched with a conſiderable force to beſiege the city of Ahmedebad, the capital of the province of Guzerat, which was taken by ſtorm in five days after the appearance of the Britiſh army under its walls; and this ſucceſs was ſoon followed by the reduction of the whole province. On the third of April following, the General ſurpriſed the camp of Scindia and Holkar, the Mahratta chiefs, whoſe numerous cavalry were forced to retreat with conſiderable loſs. Some brilliant ſervices were alſo performed on the ſide of Bengal; in particular the fortreſs

fortreſs of Gwalior, ſituated on a mountain of four miles in length, riſing perpendicularly from a perfectly flat country, and which was deemed inacceſſible, was ſtormed in the night by Colonel Popham, and carried, with only the loſs of a few Seapoys.

Theſe ſucceſſes, however, were more than counterbalanced by the ſtorm which, in the courſe of the campaign, burſt on the Carnatic. Hyder Ally, who had been for months employed in collecting together a prodigious force, on the 20th of July made his way through the Ghauts, or narrow paſſes in the mountains, and, at the head of nearly one hundred thouſand men, entered, without reſiſtance, the Carnatic; and by the 10th of Auguſt his cavalry had penetrated even to the vicinity of Madras. In this emergency, Sir Hector Munro haſtily aſſembled the different corps which were ſcattered through the province, and endeavoured to poſt himſelf ſtrongly on the Mount, to cover and protect the capital; and orders were diſpatched to Colonel Baillie, who commanded in the Guntoor, to haſten back to join the main army, and in the courſe of his march to endeavour, as much as poſſible, to intercept the enemy's convoys. In the mean time Hyder formed the ſiege of Arcot, and Sir Hector thought it an indiſpenſable duty to march to its relief. On the approach of the Britiſh general, Hyder raiſed the ſiege, but directed the route of his army in ſuch a manner acroſs the courſe of Colonel Baillie's detachment, as effectually to prevent the intended junction. On the 6th of September, the troops of the Sultan, under the command of his brother Meer Saib, and his ſon, the ſince celebrated Tippoo Sultan, encountered Colonels Baillie and Fletcher, at a place called Perimbancum. All that ſkill could deviſe, or valour effect, was performed by the Britiſh; and though

though the diſparity of force was almoſt unexampled, victory at firſt declared in favour of Colonel Baillie. Unfortunately, in the moment of ſucceſs and exultation, the tumbrils which contained the ammunition, ſuddenly blew up, with two dreadful exploſions, in the centre of the Britiſh lines; and one whole face of their column was laid open, and the artillery deſtroyed. The moment of advantage was ſuddenly caught by Tippoo Saib, who forced his way, at the head of his cavalry, into the broken ſquare; and the Britiſh being deprived of their ammunition, and not having had even time to form, were, after prodigies of valour, cut to pieces, or made priſoners of war. In this action the Seapoys were only diſtinguiſhable by their colour from the Europeans; and the victory coſt the Myſore army very dear, as the reports of their loſs are ſaid to be almoſt incredible. The loſs on the part of the Britiſh is ſtated at from three thouſand five hundred to five thouſand Seapoys, and from five to ſeven hundred Europeans.

The conſternation which ſeized the whole province on this melancholy occaſion, it is not eaſy to deſcribe. The army under Sir Hector Munro would have ruſhed impetuouſly to revenge the deaths of their fellow ſoldiers, and to have retrieved the honour of Britain; but they were prudently reſtrained by their commander, who foreſaw the probable event, and the fatal conſequences which muſt reſult from following the dictates of blind valour and undiſciplined paſſion. In theſe circumſtances, and conſidering the immediate want of proviſions under which the army laboured, we cannot but commend the prudence of the general, who ordered a precipitate retreat, and abandoned Arcot to its fate, which ſoon fell into the hands of the conquering enemy.

Thus

Thus ended this unfortunate campaign in India; and in the mean time vigorous preparations were made by the governor and ſupreme council for the relief of the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote, who was one of their own body, and commander in chief of all the Britiſh forces in India, was diſpatched with conſiderable reinforcements to Madras, where, after a paſſage of only twenty-three days from Calcutta, he arrived on the 5th of November.

The influence of thoſe circumſtances which had ſo fortunately occurred in their favour, was agreeably experienced by the miniſters at the general election; and the ſudden diſſolution of the parliament, while many of the oppoſition candidates were abſent upon their reſpective commands as officers of the militia, afforded a happy opportunity to the dependants of the court to eſtabliſh themſelves in their reſpective boroughs. The pecuniary diſtreſſes alſo in which the war had involved the nation, and the diſcouragements which ſome of the old members had experienced in their endeavours to reſcue the country from its deluſion, made way for a number of new men, whoſe inexperience and indeciſion operated in the firſt ſeſſion in favour of the miniſter.

The new parliament met on the 31ſt of October, and its complexion was preſently manifeſted in the choice of a ſpeaker. Sir Fletcher Norton had irrecoverably offended the court by his famous addreſs to his majeſty, on the 7th of May, 1777, when he preſented the bills for the diſcharge of the arrears of the civil liſt; and from that moment he had reaſon to complain of the want of confidence, and even of common civility, which he had experienced from adminiſtration. It was impoſſible, therefore, that a ſet of men, who were entirely governed by little

little and deſpicable paſſions, could omit ſo favourable an opportunity of mortifying one who had rendered himſelf ſo obnoxious. As they were incapable, however, of manly and direct oppoſition, his rejection was effected in that baſe and clandeſtine manner which marked all their meaſures. Sir Fletcher Norton was literally oppreſſed with encomiums; and it was urged that the beſt mode in which the houſe could teſtify its gratitude for his meritorious ſervices, would be by exonerating him from a weight of buſineſs which was evidently inconſiſtent with the ſtate of his health, and which, in this ſeſſion, was likely to increaſe rather than diminiſh. A new ſpeaker, Mr. Cornwall, was therefore propoſed.

The right honourable ſubject of theſe panegyrics heard, with aſtoniſhment, ſuch a maſs of inſidious praiſe mixed with practical diſapprobation. He ſaid he could not give the miniſtry the ſmalleſt credit for the aſſertion, that a regard for his health made any part of the motive for diſmiſſing him from his office; for he had been already three days in town, and not the ſmalleſt inquiry had been made after his health, or whether it was likely to permit him to reſume his public duties:—he however declined the honour of appearing as a candidate for the office, and intreated his friends not to perſiſt in preſſing for his reinſtatement.

The oppoſition party inſiſted, that the health of the late ſpeaker was now ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that he was evidently as capable of fulfilling his duty as ever he was in his life; and added, that this pretence was an abſolute mockery upon the houſe. They proceeded to ſhew the inconſiſtency of miniſters, in acknowledging the late Speaker to be *the moſt able of all men to fill the chair*, and, in the very moment of that confeſſion, to propoſe another

another candidate; and (to heighten the abſurdity) to recommend to that candidate, "to copy the "example of his predeceſſor." The reſentments of miniſtry, it was ſaid, were not more mean, than the motive on which they were founded was unconſtitutional and dangerous. That memorable ſpeech, which had excited their malignity to the Speaker, reflected the higheſt honour upon him; and was equally a record of his impartiality in that high office, of his zeal for his country, and of his feeling for the national diſtreſſes. Notwithſtanding theſe and many other forcible arguments, the *ſilent* eloquence of the miniſter, who ſat in ſtupid unconcern during the whole debate, prevailed over all the oratory of oppoſition, and Mr. Cornwall was elected ſpeaker by a majority of two hundred and three votes to one hundred and thirty-four.

His Majeſty's ſpeech, in the uſual ſtrain, deplored the unnatural rebellion in North America, and complained of the unjuſt interference of the monarchies of France and Spain, whoſe object, it was inſinuated, was to gratify the boundleſs ambition of the Houſe of Bourbon, by deſtroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain. His Majeſty exulted in the ſucceſs which by *the bleſſing of Divine Providence*, had attended his arms in Georgia and Carolina; lamented that the various ſervices of the war muſt unavoidably be attended with great and heavy expences; but added, that he repoſed an entire confidence in the zeal and affection of the parliament for the ſupply of every exigence.

The addreſſes from both houſes commenced with congratulating his Majeſty on the birth of a prince; they were full fraught with expreſſions of indignation againſt France and Spain, and concluded

cluded by earneſtly *hoping* that their conduct would fully juſtify the confidence which his Majeſty repoſed in them.

The addreſs in the Commons was moved by Mr. De Grey, and ſeconded by Sir Richard Sutton. An amendment was propoſed by Mr. Grenville, and ſeconded by Colonel Fitzpatrick, the object of which was to expunge the whole of the addreſs, except the complimentary part, and to ſubſtitute in its place the following words:—"In this "arduous conjuncture, we are determined to unite "our efforts for the defence of this our country; "and we beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that "we will decline no difficulty or hazard in pre-"ſerving the eſſential intereſts of this king-"dom."

The ſpeeches of the oppoſition members, in ſupport of the amendment, compriſed all the arguments which had been repeatedly urged on former occaſions againſt the American war. His Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, it was obſerved, had not brought any tidings of conſolation, or cheered the habitual gloomineſs of the proſpect, by even diſtant views of an amendment of that reproachful plan of politics, ſo ſtubbornly adhered to by the ſervants of the crown. The laſt parliament had, like other abandoned ſinners, in its dying agonies, confeſſed the cauſe of its corruption and proſtitution; this day, it was ſaid, would afford a demonſtration whether the fatal and corrupt influence then acknowledged, had extended to the preſent. At this alarming juncture, it became the wiſdom of parliament to guard againſt incautious promiſes to the throne, that they would ſupport the meaſures of miniſtry, or be miſled by the deluſive proſpects which were held forth by thoſe who had ſo nearly effected the ruin of the country. It was, indeed,

indeed alledged, that our affairs were now in a much more flouriſhing and proſperous ſtate than they had formerly been.—But was not this the language at the opening of every ſeſſion of parliament? and what gainers had we been by victories far more ſplendid than thoſe of the laſt campaign? Boſton had been exchanged for New York; and on the conqueſt of Philadelphia, what were the boaſts of the infatuated authors of the war? There will not be the face of a rebel ſeen in all America, was the empty declaration of thoſe times. But what had been the reſult?—Only that the ſcene of this deſtructive war was changed, and that a heavy addition had been made to the national burdens, and the national calamities.

Mr. Fox was more than uſually forcible on this occaſion.—In the courſe of his ſpeech he obſerved, "that in the addreſs which was pro-"poſed, the bleſſings of his Majeſty's reign were "to be recogniſed; but in this he could not con-"cur, as he was unacquainted with thoſe bleſſings. "The preſent reign had been one continued ſeries "of diſgrace, misfortune, and calamity."

The arguments of adminiſtration reſted entirely upon two points. It was ſaid, that whatever might be our ſituation, it would be an impolitic ſtep to proclaim to the world that we were reduced to deſpair, that our finances were embarraſſed, our reſources utterly exhauſted; and, although the majority of the houſe ſhould be averſe to the continuance of hoſtilities, it would ſtill be imprudent to make it known to the powers with which we are at war. The object at preſent was to break the union of the three powers, and to render ineffectual their attempts to deſtroy our naval force and to ruin our commerce. All confederacies, it

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was added, carried in them principles of diſunion; and the preſent was not likely to be laſting, ſince it was formed between ſtates who diſagreed in every material point, in manners, in religion, and in civil government.

Another argument urged on this ſide of the queſtion was, the probability which our late victories afforded of ſucceſs. The war was ſaid to be now carried on to protect our numerous friends in America from the tyranny and oppreſſion of the Congreſs. It would not now be inſiſted, that America could be recovered by conqueſt; but it was well to be hoped, that America was ſtill to be gained to this country. The juſt and liberal offers made by Great Britain to America had produced great and general effects upon the minds of the people; and it was not to be doubted that more than half the Americans, when freed from their oppreſſors, would appear to have been friends to the Britiſh government.

It was with ſuch chimeras as theſe, in oppoſition to the ſtrongeſt facts, that the miniſtry continued to delude the people, and perhaps themſelves: for certainly no ſet of men were ever poſſeſſed of leſs foreſight, and of worſe information. The diviſion afforded an additional proof how much the new parliament was devoted to the ſervice of the miniſtry; for there appeared for Mr. Grenville's amendment, only one hundred and thirty, againſt two hundred and twelve, who voted for the original addreſs.

Before the Chriſtmas receſs, little other buſineſs of importance was agitated. On the third and ſixth of November, the houſe of peers was unworthily employed upon a private diſpute between the Earl of Pomfret and the Duke of Grafton; the

the former of whom had ſent a challenge to his Grace, in conſequence of a ſuſpicion that he had protected and employed a perſon of the name of Langſtaff, who had been gamekeeper to the noble Earl, but had been diſcharged for ſeveral notorious delinquencies. The Duke, on the contrary, had aſſured the Earl, that he was totally unacquainted with Langſtaff, and that, till he received the challenge, he had not ſo much as heard of his name. As the Earl of Pomfret did not however appear ſatisfied with this explanation, the Houſe proceeded to vote "that the conduct of the Duke of Grafton "had been perfectly conformable to the principles "of a man of honour;" and Lord Pomfret was committed to the Tower, where he remained from the 6th to the 17th of November, when he was releaſed upon petition, and after receiving a reprimand, and aſking pardon of the Houſe.

In the month of November, this year, the Empreſs Queen, the celebrated Maria Thereſa, cloſed a protracted reign of forty years. Few monarchs had experienced greater viciſſitudes of fortune, and none ever endured adverſity with more dignity and fortitude. While we cheerfully render her memory this tribute of praiſe, we muſt remark, that Great Britain has but little reaſon to extol her juſtice and gratitude. Like all the deſpots of the continent, *ſhe* was completely ſelfiſh; and one of the firſt uſes which ſhe made of returning proſperity, was to betray the very power that had reſcued her from ruin.

Her dominions deſcended to her ſon, the Emperor Joſeph II. a prince of whoſe political conduct we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak, and the morning of whoſe reign, at leaſt, was popular. It was introduced by an act which evinced, at

once, a ſpirit of liberality and juſtice, and a knowledge of the true policy of his country. We allude to the edict for the toleration of Proteſtants.

The cauſe of religious liberty had another ſignal triumph in the courſe of this year by the abolition of the infamous court of inquiſition in Modena. In France, too, the ſingular phænomenon was exhibited, of a Proteſtant (M. Neckar) being placed at the head of the finances. By the influence of this excellent miniſter, the French King formally aboliſhed the horrid tyranny of queſtion by torture; and the moſt ſalutary and important reforms were effected in the royal houſhold.

In October 1780 the Weſt-India iſlands, and particularly Jamaica and Barbadoes, were doomed to experience the ravages of a dreadful hurricane. The plantations were deſtroyed; the houſes and buildings were in general carried away from their foundations by the force of the ſtorm, and an immenſe number of negroes were killed. In conſequence of this loſs ſeveral petitions were preſented from the ſufferers to the Britiſh parliament: the firſt buſineſs, therefore, after the receſs, was to take theſe petitions into conſideration; and on the 23d of January, 1781, on the motion of Lord
1781 North, a grant of eighty thouſand pounds was voted for the relief of Barbadoes, and forty thouſand pounds for Jamaica, without any debate or oppoſition.

A ſtill more ſerious conſideration occupied the attention of the Houſe of Commons on the 25th of the ſame month. On that day a meſſage from his majeſty was communicated to the Houſe by the miniſter, acquainting them that letters of marque and repriſals had been iſſued againſt the Dutch; and

and ſubmitting to their inſpection the memorial, and the other papers relative to the rupture which had taken place.

This communication was no ſooner made to the Houſe, than Mr. Burke obſerved, "That, how-"ever lightly a war might be thought of by ſome "men, he was one of thoſe who thought it always "a moſt ſerious matter; a matter which nothing "but the greateſt neceſſity could juſtify." The miniſtry were therefore bound to lay very ample proof before the Houſe, that the war was unavoidably neceſſary. It was ſtated in the Britiſh manifeſto, that a treaty was entered into between the city of Amſterdam and America; but the treaty now laid before the Houſe was, in the expreſs terms of it, the *plan* of a treaty, or the rough draught of a compact, the ratification of which was to depend upon events which might never happen. He reprobated the long adjournment of parliament, and inquired why ſo material a circumſtance as a declaration of war was ventured on, contrary to every recent precedent, during a receſs?

The miniſtry ſtated in their exculpation the different cauſes of complaint which they alledged againſt Holland. They obſerved, that by the treaty of 1678 it was ſtipulated, that, in caſe Great Britain ſhould be attacked by the Houſe of Bourbon, ſhe had a right to require twenty ſhips of war, and ſix thouſand troops; and that the republic had refuſed to fulfil the terms of the treaty. A further cauſe of complaint was, that the republic had given protection to Paul Jones, whom Lord North and his colleagues denominated a pirate. That a rebel privateer had been ſaluted at the Dutch iſland of St. Euſtatius, after ſhe had been ſuffered to capture two Britiſh ſhips within ſight of the forts and caſtles. The treaty which was laid before

the Houſe berween the Dutch and the Americans, was aſſerted to be a treaty actually ſigned and ſealed, with the names of the penſioners of Amſterdam, and M. de Neuville, a merchant and burgeſs of that city, ſubſcribed to it on the part of the magiſtracy of Amſterdam; and with the name of John Lee, as commiſſioner or agent for the Congreſs of America. The prevalence of a French party in Holland was urged as an additional reaſon for the commencement of hoſtilities; and with reſpect to the adjournment of parliament, Lord North declared, that it would have been to the full as agreeable to him if the Houſe had ſat the whole intermediate time; but the breaking out of the war, or the time of its commencement, were by no means ſo clearly within the views of the King's ſervants, as to render it neceſſary to break in upon the accuſtomed receſs, in expectation of them. The laſt efficient cauſe of the rupture, the anſwer of the States, was not received till after the adjournment.

The apology of the miniſter, relative to the adjournment of parliament, did not exempt him from the ſevere and ſarcaſtic cenſure of oppoſition upon that ſubject. The miniſters, they ſaid, had every year ſome work upon their hands, which they did not chooſe to do in the face of parliament. In this manner the Houſe had been led into the American war, that ſource of all our calamities; in this manner the treaty was ſtolen between France and America, without the poſſibility of a timely interference; in the ſame manner the miniſters announced the French, and in the following year the Spaniſh reſcript; and now they came to declare that they had wantonly commenced a war againſt our old and natural ally.

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They perſevered in denying the neceſſity of the war. We loſt Holland, they aſſerted, by our arrogance; by that domineering, inſolent ſpirit through which we had loſt America, and which united half Europe againſt us in an armed neutrality. The haughty memorial of 1777, which was ſo cautiouſly kept back, was juſtly obſerved by the States General to hold language not fit to be offered to, or received by, any independent ſtate. It was not poſſible that any Hollander ſhould not reſent ſuch an inſult. France naturally, and not unfairly, took advantage of this temper. It could not be wondered at that other nations ſhould take advantage of our folly in this inſtance, any more than that, while we were abſurdly throwing away the American trade, other maritime ſtates ſhould take it up.

It had been remarked as a great cauſe of offence, that the States General had not complied with the memorial preſented by Sir Joſeph Yorke, and furniſhed the aſſiſtance required by the treaty of 1678; but the truth was, that the States General had acted with more wiſdom, and knew our intereſts better, than our own miniſtry. If Holland had complied with the treaty, Great Britain muſt have been a loſer on the whole. All that we had a right to expect was ſix thouſand troops, and twenty ſhips of war. The inſtant they had been furniſhed, the territories of the States would have been attacked; and then, in compliance with the ſame treaty, we muſt have ſent a large army into Holland, and ſupported her with an immenſe naval force. It was therefore the intereſt of Great Britain to have left Holland in a ſtate of neutrality; neither to exhauſt our own ſtrength in her ſupport, nor inconſiderately to add one more to the

multitude of our enemies, who to every thinking mind muſt appear already too numerous.

As the miniſtry, however, had previouſly determined on the part which they were to act, and as they had probably formed ſuch arrangements as would infallibly render abortive the efforts of Holand in the war, it was not to be expected that the arguments of oppoſition ſhould be of much avail. An addreſs to his majeſty in favour of the war, was therefore voted by a majority of one hundred and eighty, againſt one hundred and one.

In the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of Richmond vehemently arraigned the conduct of adminiſtration in this ill-adviſed and ill-concerted buſineſs. He complained that they deluded the Houſe by garbled and partial information; and made repeated demands that the whole of the papers which were connected with the diſpute, ſhould be ſubmitted to the inſpection of parliament. The plan of a treaty ſigned by Van Berkel and Lee, he aſſerted, could only be conſidered as a private tranſaction between two individuals of different ſtates, and could not at all be regarded as the act of either of thoſe ſtates till publicly ratified by their authority.

Lord Stormont, on the other hand, admitted that the States General had diſclaimed, in *general terms*, any knowledge of the treaty, but appeared deſirous of protracting the negociation with this country, and tardy in conceding to miniſtry that ſatisfaction which they required.

The arguments of the Duke of Richmond were very forcibly ſupported by the Earl of Shelburne, who noticed with proper ſeverity the very odious meaſure of ſeizing, in time of profound peace between the two ſtates, the veſſels and cargoes of the Dutch merchants, and rendering the municipal tribunals

tribunals the inſtruments of enforcing an act which was repugnant to every law now exiſting in the written code, and to all the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of every country in Europe. The treaty which was made the pretence of this unjuſtifiable war, his Lordſhip obſerved, was no more than a project to be hereafter entered into, and, even when ratified, depended on a contingency;—and what was that contingency?—The treaty was only to have effect, in caſe the States of America ſhould, at any time hereafter, be acknowledged independent by the powers of Europe.

The addreſs was carried in the Lords by a ſtill more powerful majority than in the Commons; the number who voted in favour of miniſtry being eighty-four, including ſixteen proxies, and the oppoſition conſiſting of only nineteen. Two proteſts were entered on the journals againſt the war; the firſt, extremely ſevere againſt the miniſtry, and ſigned by nine lords; the ſecond, conceived in rather milder terms, and ſigned by eight: but both equally reprobated the raſh and ill-digeſted meaſures of the miniſtry, and the wanton effuſion of human blood.

The appointment of Sir Hugh Paliſer, after the notoriety of his conduct in the trial of Admiral Keppel, to be governor of Greenwich Hoſpital, was a meaſure which had repeatedly, during the ſeſſion, provoked the cenſures of oppoſition. On the firſt of February Mr. Fox determined to take the ſenſe of the Houſe upon the ſubject, and propoſed a motion for their conſideration in the following terms viz. "That the appointment of Sir "Hugh Palliſer to be governor of Greenwich "Hoſpital, after he had been declared guilty of "having preferred a malicious and ill-grounded "accuſation againſt his commanding officer, by

"the ſentence of a court-martial, was a meaſure "totally ſubverſive of the diſcipline, and dero- "gatory to the honour of the navy." In the courſe of the debate it was obſerved, that, of the court-martial which ſat on Sir Hugh Palliſer, one of the members was the actual nephew of the culprit, and that three of the other officers who compoſed it were officers of the blue ſquadron, who muſt have been implicated in his guilt. Lord Howe aſſerted, that from what he knew of miniſters, he could ſay that "they "had neither plan, foreſight, nor conſiſtency;" the ſame noble commander exhorted the Houſe to pay ſome reſpect to the deciſions of court-martials, as otherwiſe there would be an end of diſcipline, and the authority of commanders in chief would be entirely loſt.

The defence of the miniſter was ſingular. He ſaid this motion was not intended to criminate Sir Hugh Palliſer, but was aimed at the miniſtry altogether, and therefore exhorted the Houſe not to countenance ſuch attacks on the general ſyſtem of government. He added, that part of the ſentence of the court-martial, on which the motion was grounded, was an extra-judicial opinion; and that Sir H. Palliſer was preferred, not becauſe he had attempted to criminate Admiral Keppel, but becauſe he had ſerved his country with fidelity for forty years.

Though Admiral Keppel was by no means a favourite with the country at this period, and though much perſonality mingled with the debate, yet the diviſion was more favourable to oppoſition than any that had taken place ſince the meeting of the new parliament; Mr. Fox's motion being rejected only by a majority of two hundred

dred and fourteen againſt one hundred and forty-nine.

While the two great parties which divided the nation were preparing their reſpective forces for the hoſtile fields of political debate, a circumſtance of more general concern claimed the attention of parliament.

Among the political phænomena of modern times, there is not any more ſtriking or more ſingular than that ſovereign authority which we have ſeen exerciſed by a private company of merchants, over ſome of the richeſt and moſt important provinces of Aſia. The means by which this empire was eſtabliſhed, can be no ſecret to our readers; the mode in which it was adminiſtered was ſuch as might be expected from the nature of the inſtitution. The directors of the India Company at home were generally ignorant and illiterate men, choſen for their wealth, not for their talents; and the important truſt of regulating the civil and political government of theſe immenſe territories devolved upon the ſervants of the Company, who were reſident in the Eaſt. As theſe may be conſidered as a kind of birds of paſſage, they were alſo frequently birds of prey; and it is to be feared that ſome ſhocking inſtances of rapacity and oppreſſion may be found on the polluted records of the Britiſh government in India.

In ſome meaſure jealous of the power which theſe poſſeſſions conferred upon the Company, and greatly deſirous of the patronage which accompanied them, the miniſtry, ſo early as the year 1772, caſt a longing eye to the wealth of India; and the miſconduct of the Company's ſervants afforded a pretext to lay the baſis of that controul which government has continued to exerciſe from that period over the

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East-India monopoly, and which has been gradually increaſed by ſucceſſive encroachments. In 1773, an act was paſſed for "eſtabliſhing cer-"tain rules and orders for the future manage-"ment of the affairs of the East-India Company, "as well in India as in Europe." By theſe regulations Bengal was made the ſeat of the Britiſh government in the East:—and two ſupreme authorities were eſtabliſhed there. The one, poſſeſſed all the political power, under the name of the Governor-general and Council, and extended its ſuperintendence and controul over the inferior preſidencies of Madras and Bombay: the other was termed the Supreme Court of Judicature, and was compoſed of judges, ſent from England, who acted independently of the governor and council. As the one ſucceeded, with great additional powers, to the ancient preſidency, ſo the latter did to the mayor's court at Calcutta---a court compoſed, indeed, of magiſtrates not educated to the bar, but yet reſpectable for the general tenor of its adminiſtration. The common principles of equity were the ſtatutes upon which it founded its deciſions: a jury was always ſummoned upon every cauſe; and it was no leſs diſtinguiſhed for the moderate expence at which ſuits were conducted, than for the diſpatch and integrity of its proceedings.

It is ſcarcely poſſible, that two independent powers can be eſtabliſhed in any government, however diſtinct their functions may appear, without a certain interference and oppoſition of intereſts, which muſt either palſy the political machine, or at leaſt fruſtrate, in ſome inſtances, the ends for which they were conſtituted. Such was the caſe upon this occaſion; and the evil was heightened by another fatal miſtake:—The laws of England

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were eſtabliſhed as the code to which the ſupreme court was to adapt its proceedings; and yet the limits and nature of its authority were left indefinite. Perhaps the choice of a chief juſtice was not the moſt happy on this occaſion. Poſſeſſed of abilities, of knowledge, and of addreſs; but ambitious, haughty, not indifferent to emolument, and prejudiced to a degree of technical abſurdity, in favour of his own profeſſion; Sir Elijah Impey laboured with unremitted aſſiduity to extend to a pernicious extreme the authority of the court over which he preſided.

Neither the reſpectability nor the utility of the court was increaſed by the needy and profligate herd which accompanied the judges on their departure from England. Moſt of them educated in the inferior walks of the profeſſion, and many of them perſons of deſperate fortunes, made it their firſt object to encourage lawſuits, and to promote every ſpecies of chicanery, which might be attended with emolument to themſelves. Some even, it is ſaid, who were enrolled among the domeſtics of the judges, appeared afterwards as attorneys and officers of the courts; and from ſuch perſons neither much honour, nor much zeal for the credit of the profeſſion, could be expected.

Independent, however, of this circumſtance, the impracticability of inſolently and ſuddenly introducing the Britiſh laws among the natives of India, muſt have been apparent to any perſons who were poſſeſſed of reflection, or who could have taken the trouble of an inquiry. But indolence, as well as incapacity, was the general characteriſtic of Lord North's adminiſtration. No deſcription of men is equally attached, with the Hindoos, to their ancient laws and cuſtoms; no people can ſo little endure the infraction of their prejudices.

prejudices. Indeed though the general outline of Britiſh juriſprudence commands reſpect, yet in the detail the laws of this country are too voluminous, and the judicial proceedings too intricate—to the natives of India they muſt be wholly unintelligible. Many hardſhips muſt neceſſarily have reſulted from this circumſtance; but to extend to India the whole ſanguinary code of penal ſtatutes, was a ſtill more glaring exceſs of cruelty and abſurdity.

Thus, in Hindoſtan, forgery was a ſlight offence, commutable by an eaſy fine; in Britain it is capital; yet Nunducomar, a nobleman of a high caſt, and of an elevated rank, was tried, convicted, and executed on an Engliſh ſtatute, with which it is not probable he ſhould have been acquainted at the time that he committed the offence: ſince even Sir Robert Chambers, one of the judges who aſſiſted at the trial, appears to have had his doubts whether the ſtatute of forgery, being a local ſtatute, adapted to the circumſtances of a commercial country, ought to operate in the Eaſt.

In defiance of the act itſelf for regulating India, attempts were made to extend the influence of the ſupreme court over the native courts of juſtice eſtabliſhed in the provinces. At the inſtigation of one of thoſe harpies who, in the character of an attorney, had been tranſplanted to India, an action was brought againſt Jaggernaut, the principal officer in the Mahometan court at Dacca, on the part of a ſervant or meſſenger, who had been fined and impriſoned by that court. Jaggernaut was arreſted as he ſat in the court of juſtice, and ignominiouſly dragged out by a ſheriff's officer. A riot enſued; and the conſequence of this outrage on the court, was an entire ceſſation in the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the province.

The tranſaction which has been diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Patna cauſe, afforded a ſtill more flagrant inſtance, if poſſible, of the cruelty of theſe innovations. A ſuit between the widow and the nephew and heir at law of Shahbaz Beg Cawn, reſpecting the property of the deceaſed, was referred, by the provincial council of Patna, to the chief officers of the Mahometan court, who decided the caſe according to the principles of their law; and the deciſion was confirmed by a decree of the provincial council.

Encouraged by ſome Engliſh lawyers, however, the widow was induced to bring the cauſe before the ſupreme court. The conſequence was, that the decree of the country court was reverſed: immenſe damages were aſſeſſed againſt the Cawzee, the Mufti, and the other judges.—To anſwer theſe damages, their property was ſeized and ſold; they were all conveyed as priſoners, upwards of four hundred miles, to the common goal of Calcutta; and in the courſe of the journey the Cawzee, a venerable and reſpectable old man, upwards of ſixty years of age, fell a ſacrifice to fatigue, infirmity, and perhaps vexation. The attorney's bill, in this cauſe, amounted to the immenſe ſum of four thouſand five hundred pounds.

Attempts were alſo made to arreſt the Zemindars, or feudal chiefs of the provinces; and the ruffian officers of the court even violated the ſacred retreats of the female ſex, and the temples of their deities. The ſupreme council, ſatisfied of the ill conſequences which muſt enſue from thus involving the whole country in confuſion, interfered, and, by the aid of the military, committed ſome of the ſheriff's officers to priſon; while, on the other hand, attachments were ordered by Sir Elijah Impey and

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the judges, againſt the military officers who had been ſent by the council for the reſtoration of peace.

Such was the ſtate to which the crude and improvident politics of Lord North and his colleagues had reduced the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India. On the 4th of December 1780, therefore, a petition was preſented to the Houſe of Commons from the Britiſh inhabitants of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, complaining of the injudicious and indiſcriminate manner in which the judges of the ſupreme court endeavoured to adminiſter the Engliſh laws in thoſe provinces; and this was ſeconded by another from the governor general and council, containing a long ſtatement of the tranſactions, and requeſting an indemnification from the legal penalties which, for the preſervation of government, and of the country, they had been under the neceſſity of incurring.

On the 12th of February, General Smith, after many prefatory obſervations, replete with much local information, moved that theſe petitions ſhould be referred to a committee of fifteen members to be choſen by ballot, and to meet in a chamber above ſtairs. He was ably ſupported by Mr. Rous and ſome other gentlemen. The miniſter did not object to the motion, but apologized for himſelf by ſaying, that when he brought in a bill a few years ago for the government of India, he was very far from expecting that the court of judicature ſhould become a ſource of miſery, oppreſſion, or injuſtice.

To conclude our account of this perplexing buſineſs, it is only neceſſary to remark, that in the courſe of the ſeſſion a bill was introduced by General Smith, founded on the report of the committee of fifteen, for regulating the adminiſtration of juſtice in India, and for indemnifying the governor

governor general and council for the reſiſtance made by them to the ſupreme court. This bill, after ſome reſiſtance from the law members, paſſed both Houſes, and received the royal aſſent. It defined and limited the authority of the ſupreme court, and exempted the governor general and council of Bengal from its juriſdiction. It declared farther, that no perſon ſhould be under the cognizance of the ſupreme court, on account of his being a land-holder or farmer in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; and that no judicial officers in the country courts ſhould be liable to actions in the ſupreme court for their deciſions.

Mr. Burke was not diſcouraged, by the rejection of his bill for the reform of the civil liſt in the laſt ſeſſion, from renewing his application to the preſent parliament. On the 15th of February, therefore, he moved or leave to bring in a bill exactly formed upon the model of that which had been rejected, and opened his propoſition by ſtating the powerful motives which engaged him now to reſume his undertaking; and theſe were—the celebrated reſolutions of the late parliament, reſpecting the alarming increaſe of the influence of the crown—the general wiſh and expectation of the people—and the direct application to himſelf from ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable counties.

When enemy ſucceeded to enemy, and the guilty raſhneſs of miniſters leagued with contending ſtates againſt us, our independence, it had been ſaid, was to be maintained by the *ſpirit of the people*. But the effect of ſpirit, and ſpirit itſelf, muſt depend upon ſtrength. Strength, and the juices which feed it, the wealth of the country, ought to be carefully nouriſhed, and huſbanded with attention, tenderneſs and ſolicitude, not weakened and exhauſted by diſſipation and profuſion. It was the duty of

government, Mr. Burke obſerved, to participate in the ſufferings of the people. Let the king ſhew his ſubjects an example of retrenchment and œconomy, and the people will cheerfully ſubmit to every difficulty and labour.

The plan of œconomy which he now propoſed, Mr. Burke added, was in perfect conformity with the wiſhes of the people. It was a plan by which there would ariſe to the public a ſaving of at leaſt two hundred thouſand pounds per annum: but what was of more importance than all this ſaving, it would deſtroy an undue influence over the minds of fifty members of parliament in both Houſes. The bill, he ſaid, was perfectly ſimilar to that which he had preſented laſt year; and he laid it before the Houſe, in the hope and confidence, that if they meant to give it countenance and attention, they would do ſo with candour; and not, with inſidious reſpect, at its outſet, tempt it to a death of ſlow and lingering torture. He called particularly on Lord North, who was to be the arbiter of its fate, and begged that, if he meant to give it ultimately a death-ſtroke, he would ſave himſelf and the Houſe much anxiety and diſappointment, by ſtrangling it in its birth.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Duncombe; when Lord North roſe, and declared that his opinion with reſpect to the bill was not at all altered; and though he did not abſolutely diſapprove of the principle of it, yet the parts proper to be adopted bore ſo ſmall a proportion to the whole of that very comprehenſive ſcheme, that in ſome ſtage of the bill he ſhould be obliged to oppoſe it. Leave was, however, in the mean time, given to bring in the bill.

Under theſe unfavourable auſpices, the bill was carried through to a ſecond reading, when it experienced

experienced a ſecond time the weight of that influence it was meant to reduce. It was, however, the means of introducing to public notice the ſplendid talents and captivating eloquence of Mr. William Pitt, the ſecond ſon of the late Earl of Chatham; another young member alſo, Lord Maitland, was highly diſtinguiſhed by his ability in ſupport of the bill. The numbers on the diviſion evinced, that the power of the miniſtry was conſidered as on the decline, ſince it was rejected only by a majority of two hundred and thirty-three to one hundred and ninety.

The exigencies of the year, from the ruinous and deſtructive war in which the nation was involved, called for no leſs a ſum than TWENTY-ONE MILLIONS. Twelve millions were to be raiſed by way of loan, upon terms ſo advantageous to the lenders, that it was evident that every principle of œconomy was diſcarded by the miniſtry, and that even the diſtreſſes of the nation were converted into a means of corruption. On the 7th of March, when the ſtate of the finances came under the conſideration of parliament, it appeared, that not only the enormous expences of the war, but the deficiency of the taxes in conſequence of it, contributed to render neceſſary ſo great a ſupply; and ſuch was the ill conduct of the miniſter in negociating the loan, that no leſs than *nine* per cent. was actually allowed to the ſubſcribers, though the money was to be advanced by inſtalments; a meaſure which was calculated to have the worſt effect upon the public funds.

Mr. Fox objected to the terms of the loan as a wanton profuſion of the public property; but this, he added, was comparatively a ſmall part of the evil. The profits on the loan, under every poſſible contingency, might be calculated at near a mil-

lion; and that ſum, he obſerved, was entirely in the hands, and at the diſpoſal of the miniſter, to be granted as douceurs to the members of that houſe, whether as compenſations for the expences of their elections, or for whatever other purpoſe of corrupt influence might beſt ſuit his views. Thus, he obſerved, the attempt made by his Hon. friend (Mr. Burke) to reſtrain undue influence, by controuling the civil liſt expenditure, would have been of little avail, if it had even ſucceeded, when a ſum equal to that whole revenue was to be annually thrown into the diſpoſal of a miniſter by a loan.

He cenſured in very ſtrong terms the propoſed lottery, which was added to the douceurs of the loan. This he conſidered as the moſt pernicious of all ſpecies of gambling; as injurious in the higheſt degree to the morals, the habits, and the circumſtances of the people, and which upon every principle of policy ought to be avoided. He had clearly proved that the advantages to the lenders were even enormous, without the lottery; and therefore moved an amendment to the miniſter's motion for agreeing to the loan, viz. "That the "latter clauſe, reſpecting the lottery, ſhould be "omitted."

Among the diſgraceful tranſactions of this period we have to record, that Mr. Fox's motion was rejected, on a diviſion, by one hundred and ſixty-nine votes againſt one hundred and eleven.

The activity of the oppoſition did not ſuffer the miniſter long to enjoy an unmoleſted triumph; and Mr. Fox's diſcuſſion having excited a ſpirit of inquiry, much information was obtained relative to the negociation, its influence on the funds, and other circumſtances; and the bill was vigorouſly combated in all its ſtages.

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The diſtribution of the loan was ſhewn to have been ſcandalouſly partial; that, inſtead of being diſtributed among men of known reputation and character, it had been given to the miniſter's creatures and friends, as a reward for paſt, and a retainer for future ſervices: and among others, the favoured *contractor*, whoſe name had been ſo long *familiar* to them, had no leſs than the prodigious ſum of three millions three hundred thouſand pounds to his ſhare, or in his diſpoſal. By repeated motions the miniſter was urged to produce the liſt of ſubſcribers, and alſo to ſubmit to the Houſe the propoſals which had been delivered to him from other quarters; as it could be proved from thoſe propoſals that he might have borrowed the immenſe ſum of *thirty-eight millions*, at five per cent. and that theſe offers came from men of the greateſt reſponſibility. The miniſtry were therefore under no neceſſity of concluding a bad bargain for the public; and when they rejected theſe propoſals, it was evident, the new loan could have been made for no other purpoſe than that of corrupt influence.

Under all this weight of ignominy Lord North had the effrontery to declare, that he by no means conſidered his reputation as a miniſter to be involved in this tranſaction. He denied that Mr. Atkinſon had any ſuch enormous ſhare in the new loan, as had been aſcribed to him; and with reſpect to the production of the propoſals which had been rejected, he treated it as a new ſpecies of inquiſition to call for the key of his eſcrutoire, to examine his *private* letters and papers.

In the Houſe of Lords the loan was treated with equal ſeverity by the Marquis of Rockingham. He called it an *uſurious* contract; and ſaid he did not doubt but the meaſure originated in neceſ-

ſity, that is, in *miniſterial* neceſſity; for, notwithſtanding the laviſh hand with which they had diſtributed places, penſions, and honours, ſuch was the conduct of government, that the miniſter found himſelf compelled to reſort to this ſhameful waſte of the public money, in order to fix and attach the wavering and heſitating minds of his abettors. The Marquis proceeded to ſhew the terms upon which money had been raiſed in the late war, when the Duke of Newcaſtle preſided over the treaſury, the profits of which he ſtated, from authentic documents, to have been in 1758, only *one* and a *quarter* per cent. and in ſucceeding years no more than three quarters, although twelve millions per annum were raiſed. It was not, he ſaid, till 1763, the firſt year of Lord Bute's adminiſtration, that the miniſter ever thought of extending his influence, by plundering the nation in the midſt of thoſe diſtreſſes which are the inevitable concomitants of a ſtate of war.

Though the loan bill paſſed both Houſes by conſiderable majorities, it was ſtill thought neceſſary to expoſe more completely the criminality of miniſters in this tranſaction; and, on the 26th of March, Sir George Saville moved, that a committee ſhould be appointed to enquire into the circumſtances of the loan. He was ably ſeconded by Mr. Byng, whoſe diligence in collecting information, reflected great honour on his patriotiſm and ſagacity. He produced a long liſt of perſons who had been ſubſcribers to former loans, and who had been loſers by their engagements, but whoſe applications for a part of the preſent had been rejected. He then ſhewed, that a conſiderable part of the loan had been ſubſcribed for under fictitious names; that the clerks of bankers were entered in the liſt, while the money

was in reality for members of parliament; and that ten thouſand pounds was about the ſum allotted to each member. He mentioned one caſe of glaring partiality. A gentleman waited on Meſſ. Gurnel, Hoare, and Co. and deſired to be ſet down for ſixty thouſand pounds, aſſuring them that the miniſter would not give them a ſhilling leſs for their own houſe:—this however they declined. Meſſrs. Gurnel, Hoare, and Co. had written for three millions, of which they obtained only five hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds; and were not a little ſurpriſed to find ſixty thouſand pounds of it for the very gentleman whoſe requeſt they had declined to grant. The gentleman alluded to was Mr. Paul Wentworth, a member of that houſe.

Mr. Byng noticed alſo a ſudden fall of the premium, which he aſſerted was an artifice of the miniſter, who commanded ſome of his creatures to ſell out large ſums; Mr. Atkinſon, in particular, had ſold out two hundred thouſand pounds in two days. Notwithſtanding theſe, and ſeveral other important facts which were adduced, Sir George Saville's motion was negatived by a majority of forty-ſix.

The corrupt ſyſtem which prevailed at this time, pervaded every department of office. In the courſe of a debate which aroſe on the 22d of March, on a motion of Mr. Minchin, reſpecting the ſtate of the navy, it was ſhewn, that the marine department had been moſt ſhamefully neglected. During the late peace, the building and repairing of ſhips had never exceeded four hundred thouſand pounds per annum; but for ſeveral years paſt ſix hundred thouſand pounds had been expended upon that object. In the former period we had built five ſhips of war on an average,

annually, and in the preſent period of war not more than three, though our navy debt amounted to upwards of ten millions. Sums of money had been granted, year after year, for the purpoſe of building and repairing the ſhips of war, and eſtimates were given in to the Houſe; but there were no checks, no vouchers of the application of that money, and parliament did not know that it was employed as directed. On the contrary, there were circumſtances of proof on the annual eſtimates, that the money was not fully and fairly employed in the ſervice for which it was voted; and nearly thirty thouſand pounds a day was expended on the navy, though it was at preſent in a ſtate ſo much inferior to what might juſtly be expected.

The alarming intelligence received from Madras, and which in the preceding pages we endeavoured to detail, induced Lord North, on the 30th of April, to move for the appointment of a committee of ſecrecy to inquire into the cauſes of the war in the Carnatic, and into the preſent condition of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in thoſe parts.

It was generally acknowledged, that the egregious bad conduct of our affairs in that quarter, had entirely occaſioned the diſgraces in queſtion; but the appointment of a ſecret committee was far from being generally agreeable to the Houſe; and Mr. Fox moved as an amendment on the miniſter's motion, that the words "of ſecrecy" ſhould be omitted. This motion was however rejected; and when the names of the committee were reported, it was obſerved that, out of the fifteen, there were only two, Mr. Gregory and Mr. Yorke, who were not the decided friends of adminiſtration, and men on whom the firſt lord of the treaſury could entirely depend.

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The embarraſſments, indeed, which government experienced from that commercial monſter, the India Company, it has been neceſſary more than once to notice in the courſe of this hiſtory. It had grown out of a petty trading monopoly to a moſt formidable eſtabliſhment; and whether we contemplate the magnitude of its debt to the public, under the ſpecious name of *India Stock*, the extent of its territorial poſſeſſions, or the expence of its civil and military arrangements, we can only conſider it as a moſt oppreſſive weight on the proſperity of Great Britain; and the moſt enlightened politician might feel himſelf at a loſs what meaſures to purſue, to prevent thoſe alarming evils which it threatens ſooner or later to bring on the community. One mode of conduct, it is true, would naturally preſent itſelf to a ſtateſman, at once poſſeſſed of foreſight and magnanimity. The trade might be laid open to the nation; and the intereſt of the debt to the proprietors might be nearly diſcharged by ſuitable burdens impoſed upon the commerce, the increaſe of which, from the ſuperior enterpriſe of private adventurers, would, there is little doubt, anſwer every expectation which the financier, in ſuch circumſtances, might be induced to form. The territorial revenues, in that caſe, might be applied to the alleviation of the general national burdens; but ſtill a difficulty would preſent itſelf to every friend of freedom; and it would be matter of heſitation, in whoſe hands to place the immenſe patronage which the territorial poſſeſſions, and the eſtabliſhment eſſential to their preſervation, involve. In the hands of government it would be dangerous; and yet it is there only that the territory of India could be lodged, if any pecuniary advantage to the public

was to be derived from it. Were it poſſible to negociate with the native powers for the ceſſion, or rather the ſale of theſe territories, perhaps the man of enlarged views would be diſpoſed to adopt this plan of proceeding: but where are purchaſers of ſufficient reſponſibility to be found? We have been led into theſe reflections by the opportunity which at this period preſented for ſome bold and deciſive meaſure, by the expiration of the Company's charter; but no ſuch could be expected from the feeble and corrupt adminiſtration of North. Nay, after a tedious interval of two years, little probability appeared of even bringing to a concluſion the negociation which had been entered into with the Court of Directors, reſpecting the renewal of their powers. Thus circumſtanced, when the ſeſſion apparently approached towards a cloſe, the miniſter brought the buſineſs before parliament, in ſo terrific a form, as ſeemed calculated to render almoſt any conditions eligible to the Company. Among the propoſitions which he offered to the conſideration of the houſe of commons, were the following:—Whether it would be proper for the crown to take the territorial poſſeſſions into its own hands, or to leave them to the Company? Whether it would be proper to throw the trade to India entirely open, or grant the monopoly to another Company? If, however, it ſhould be thought right to grant a new charter to the preſent Company, he propoſed that it ſhould be for a ſhort time, allowing to the government a vaſt participation in their profits and revenues. He further propoſed the eſtabliſhment of a tribunal here for the trial of India delinquents; and concluded with demanding as a debt the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand pounds, which

which claim he founded on a reſolution of the Commons, in 1773, eſtabliſhing a participation in the profits of the Company, though that reſolution was not confirmed by the ſubſequent act of parliament.

As the India Company were not without a powerful ſupport in the houſe of commons, and as ſome of the leading members of the minority conceived it their duty or their intereſt to appear in their favour, a powerful oppoſition was formed againſt the propoſitions of the miniſter. Freſh impediments were thrown in his way, on the agitation of every queſtion; and though he carried his motions by a great majority, ſtill he was wearied and perplexed by the protracted and vexatious debates which enſued. The oppoſition without doors was not leſs vehement than that within; and in the mean time the unfavourable advices which were received from India diminiſhed greatly the expectation of extorting a large ſum of money for the renewal of the charter. In theſe circumſtances, adminiſtration conceived it the moſt prudent meaſure to renew the negociation with the Court of Directors; and on the 1ſt of June the miniſter was enabled to bring in a bill for the temporary renewal of the Company's charter. The original demand of ſix hundred thouſand pounds was reduced, in the progreſs of the bill through the two Houſes, to four hundred thouſand pounds; and the monopoly of trade, and the territorial poſſeſſions, were veſted in the Company, to the year 1794.

The exiſting grievances of the country appeared ſo much to increaſe in conſequence of the war, and ſo little proſpect of redreſs was afforded by the laſt parliament, that an aſſociation was formed by

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ſeveral of the moſt opulent and populous counties, and delegates were choſen for the purpoſe of proſecuting the object of a parliamentary reform with proper vigour and unanimity. A petition prepared by the delegates, and ſigned by themſelves only, was preſented, on the 8th of May, by Mr. Duncombe and Sir George Saville, who moved that it ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole Houſe. The motion, however, though ſupported with great ability, was rejected, on a diviſion, by a majority of two hundred and twelve to one hundred and thirty-five.

The tranſactions which the late enquiry into the circumſtances of the loan had revealed to public view, afforded an additional argument to Sir Philip Jennings Clerk, to preſs upon the Houſe the neceſſity of a bill for excluding a race of vermin, who prey upon the vitals of the nation, the contractors, from the honourable and very improper diſtinction of enjoying ſeats in the houſe of commons. It afforded perhaps the cleareſt proof of the neceſſity of ſuch a bill, that its committal was prevented by a ſervile majority of twenty members.

Mr. Crewe's bill for excluding revenue officers from voting for members of parliament, experienced a ſimilar fate; and two motions, one by Colonel Hartley, on the twenty-ninth of May, and the other by Mr. Fox, on the 12th of June, the object of both which was to facilitate a peace with America, ſerved to evince, that the miniſter ſtill retained his influence in parliament, and that he conſidered the deluſion of the people as ſufficiently powerful ſtill to enable him to purſue hoſtile meaſures with impunity. As the numbers on the diviſion of the houſe of commons conſtitute the only political barometer which exiſts in this country, it may not be improper to add, that Mr. Fox's conciliatory

conciliatory motion was rejected by a majority of one hundred and ſeventy-two to ninety-nine.

On this latter occaſion Mr. William Pitt again diſtinguiſhed himſelf. He expatiated on the cruelty and wickedneſs of the American war. It was, he ſaid, conceived in injuſtice, nurtured in folly; its footſteps were marked with blood and devaſtation. Every thing that conſtituted moral depravity and human turpitude were to be found in it. It was pregnant with miſchief of every kind. While it meditated the deſtruction of the unhappy people who were the objects of that black reſentment which produced it; the miſchief recoiled upon the unhappy and deluded people of this country, who were made the inſtruments to effect the wicked purpoſes of its authors. The nation was drained of its vital reſources of men and money. The expence was enormous, while our victories were indeciſive, and our defeats were fatal: victories celebrated only with temporary triumph over our brethren, ſtruggling in the holy cauſe of Liberty; and defeats which filled the land with mourning for the beſt blood of the nation, ſhed in the impious cauſe.

An effort was made in the courſe of the ſeſſion, by Mr. Fox, to introduce a bill for repealing, or at leaſt modifying the famous Marriage Act. The principal feature in Mr. Fox's bill, was that it reduced the legal age for contracting marriage to eighteen in males, and ſixteen in females; and no marriage was to be annulled, after the parties had cohabited for one year. The bill paſſed the houſe of commons, but was rejected by the lords.

The ſeſſion was terminated on the 18th of July, by a ſpeech from the throne, complimenting the new parliament on their zeal and loyalty, their

firm and ſteady ſupport of a "juſt" cauſe, and the *ample* proviſion they had made for the ſervice of the current year.

The military tranſactions of this year were various and important; and the firſt dawn of ſucceſs appeared in favour of Great Britain.

As the ſcene of action was greatly varied, perſpicuity will probably be moſt completely preſerved by purſuing a geographical arrangement. We ſhall therefore firſt briefly ſtate the tranſactions in Europe, and the naval conflict of Commodore Johnſtone in Port Praya. We ſhall proceed to the Weſt Indies, and then to the moſt important ſcene, the conteſt in America; we ſhall conclude by a ſketch of the unexpected change of fortune in the Eaſt Indies; and in this mode we ſhall not greatly violate the chronological order, at leaſt in the leading facts.

The French had frequently meditated an attack upon the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey. Their vicinity to the continent, the circumſtance of their having anciently formed a part of the dominions of France, were powerful motives; and, added to the known weakneſs of the garriſons, were ſufficient to counterbalance the little value of the acquiſition, and the uncertainty of the tenure, ſhould they be able to obtain poſſeſſion of them. On the 6th of January, 1781, eight hundred French troops, under the command of the Baron de Rullecourt, landed before day-break on the iſland of Jerſey; and ſo little expectation was entertained of any attack, that they paſſed undiſcovered to the town of St. Hillier; and, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants, at day-break the market-place was filled with French ſoldiers. Fortunately the lieutenant-governor, Major Moſes Corbett, had received information of their landing time

time enough to diſpatch intelligence to the different ſtations of the ſeventy-firſt, eighty-third, and ninety-fifth regiments, and to the militia.

The lieutenant-governor, however, had barely time to diſpatch the meſſengers; for he was taken priſoner by ſeven o'clock, and immediately carried before the French commander, who preſſed him to ſign terms of capitulation, under pain of firing the town, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword. It was in vain the governor repreſented, that, being a priſoner, he was deprived of all authority, and no capitulation that he could ſign would be of any force or efficacy: the general ſtill inſiſted; and, to avoid the conſequences, the governor ratified the capitulation.

In the mean time Elizabeth Caſtle was ſummoned to ſurrender, which captain Aylward, who commanded, peremptorily refuſed. The King's troops, alſo, and the militia, aſſembled on the heights near the town under the command of Major Pierſon, and now, in their turn, ſummoned the invaders to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

An engagement enſued, in which Major Pierſon was killed; and the French general being mortally wounded, the ſecond in command deſired Mr. Corbett to reſume the government, and accept their ſubmiſſion as priſoners of war. The negligence of the lieutenant-governor was afterwards cenſured by a court-martial, and he was diſmiſſed from his office.

The ſiege and blockade of Gibraltar was continued during the whole of the winter; and it was the middle of March before the grand fleet under Admiral Darby was enabled to ſail for its relief. To the infinite joy of the garriſon, and the famiſhed inhabitants, the Britiſh fleet appeared in the Bay, on the 12th of April: but their exultation was ſoon changed

into deſpair by the ſevere bombardment which the Spaniards commenced on that very day upon the town, and which in a ſhort time left not a houſe ſtanding. From this period to the middle of November, the garriſon continued expoſed, with little interruption, to a ſevere cannonade. The Spaniards having then completed ſeveral new and formidable works, within a ſhorter diſtance of the town, a moſt ſpirited ſally was made by the garriſon, in the night of the 26th, and all the moſt important of the new works were entirely deſtroyed.

A naval expedition was planned in the beginning of the campaign, under the command of Commodore, better known by the name of Governor Johnſtone. The deſtination of this ſquadron was againſt the Cape of Good Hope, whence, it was generally ſuppoſed, it was to proceed againſt the Spaniſh ſettlement of Buenos Ayres, on the Rio de la Plata in South America, where it was reported there had been ſome alarming inſurrections. The court of France, however, was not unappriſed of the deſign; and being deſirous of protecting, as far as poſſible, allies who had been merely drawn into the war from their attachment to France, a fleet of ſuperior force was fitted out with uncommon expedition, and ſent from Breſt, under the command of M. de Suffrein, to counteract the deſigns of the Britiſh commander. The French overtook the Engliſh ſquadron at the Cape de Verd Iſlands, on the 16th of April; and though the latter was at anchor in a neutral port (Port Praya, in the Iſland of St. Jago), and conſequently under the protection of the Portugueze flag, proceeded to attack it. The Britiſh ſquadron was thrown into ſome confuſion on the firſt attack, and the conduct of the commodore has not eſcaped cenſure

cenſure on this occaſion. The native valour of the Britiſh ſeamen, however, ſoon diſplayed itſelf; and the outward-bound India ſhips which were under the convoy of the commodore, taking an active part in the engagement, the French were beaten off, but not without the loſs of ninety-ſeven men killed and wounded.

The French admiral reached the Cape before Commodore Johnſtone could poſſibly arrive there; and thus the expedition was entirely fruſtrated. The commodore, however, was fortunate enough, on the 21ſt of July, to capture four Dutch Indiamen, which were at anchor in the Bay of Saldanha. He therefore left the Engliſh India ſhips to purſue their voyage, and returned home to take care of his prizes.

Admiral Rodney, by ſailing for New-York in the latter end of the year 1780, ſaved the Britiſh fleet from the conſequences of that dreadful hurricane which deſolated the Weſt-India iſlands. After refitting there, he returned to St. Lucia; and, encouraged by the accounts which he received of the diſmantled ſtate of St. Vincent, in conſequence of the hurricane, he concerted meaſures with General Vaughan for the recovery of that iſland. Some troops and marines were landed on the middle of the iſland; but finding the enemy's works in a more perfect ſtate than they expected, the commanders were under a neceſſity of reimbarking the troops, without having effected any thing.

In the courſe of the war, the Dutch iſland of St. Euſtatia had been a kind of depoſitory, whence the armies of America had derived their principal ſupplies. Such a traffic is evidently conformable to the very principle and ſpirit of commerce, which naturally applies to that quarter whence the largeſt profits

profits may be derived; and it is one of thoſe advantages which neutral nations will always exerciſe over their neighbours who have the misfortune to be involved in war. With a miniſtry, however, whoſe only principle was a mean and pitiful ſpirit of revenge, and who to that principle continually ſacrificed every intereſt of the nation, ſuch a circumſtance was not to be forgiven; and it has been with much probability aſſerted, that to ſatiate their vengeance on theſe unfortunate iſlanders, was the real motive for engaging in hoſtilities with Holland. The preſent commanders were excellently ſelected to gratify the views of the miniſtry. Needy in their circumſtances, and rapacious and mercileſs in their diſpoſitions, more worthy inſtruments could not be choſen, or fitter repreſentatives of Sandwich and of North.

In compliance, therefore, with the orders of adminiſtration, after exciting an alarm on the coaſts of Martinique, with a view only of diſguiſing their real object, the Britiſh fleet, on the 3d of February, appeared off the iſland of St. Euſtatia, and ſummoned it to ſurrender within the courſe of an hour. As M. de Graff, the governor, was unappriſed of the commencement of hoſtilities between England and the States-General, it may be eaſily conceived that the iſland was wholly unprepared for reſiſtance. The governor, therefore, ſurrendered the iſland at diſcretion, only recommending ſtrongly the inhabitants to the clemency of the Britiſh commanders.

St. Euſtatia being a free port, its inhabitants formed a motley group, compoſed of adventurers from all nations; and the wealth which was found in it was ſo immenſe, as to excite the ſurpriſe even of the conquerors. The property on ſhore was eſtimated at three millions ſterling, excluſive of

of the ſhipping, which amounted in number to two hundred and fifty ſail of merchant ſhips, many of them richly laden, with a Dutch frigate of thirty-eight guns, and five ſmaller veſſels of war. The neighbouring iſlands of St. Martin and Saba were alſo reduced; and the admiral had the further good fortune to intercept a fleet of thirty large ſhips, richly laden with ſugar, and other valuable commodities, which had juſt before his arrival ſailed for Holland.

An almoſt general confiſcation of the property in the iſland took place; or if any exceptions were made, it was only in favour of thoſe who had little to loſe. Perſons who had rendered eminent ſervices to Great Britain, and who had really acted in the capacity of ſpies, in repeatedly conveying intelligence to the Britiſh miniſtry, were plundered equally with our moſt determined foes; and even the wretched American Loyaliſts who had retired hither, till they could obtain a paſſage to England, found themſelves ſtripped of the melancholy wrecks of their fortunes, which they had ſaved out of the tempeſt they had juſt eſcaped. Though the profeſſed motive for theſe confiſcations was the aſſiſtance which the iſlanders had afforded to the enemies of Great Britain, yet, that no obſtruction might exiſt to the profits of the captors, a *free* market was proclaimed, on the day of ſale, for the confiſcated property; the bulk of it was purchaſed for the French and Americans; and ſhips with the hoſtile colours flying, were permitted to load in the bay. The complaints which enſued on this conduct were ſuch, that Mr. Burke thought it neceſſary, on the 14th of May, to move for an inquiry into the conduct obſerved in the cap-

ture of St. Euſtatia; but the motion was overruled by the influence of miniſtry. Some of the ſufferers, as being Britiſh ſubjects, had recourſe to law, and there are ſome of the ſuits which are probably not yet finally terminated.

About the ſame period, a ſquadron of privateers, chiefly from Briſtol, entered the rivers Demerary and Iſſequibo, and cut out, even under the fire of the Dutch forts, all the veſſels that were of any value in the harbour. Theſe ſettlements, therefore, with that of the Berbices, ſenſible of their defenceleſs ſituation, and apprehenſive of falling a prey to adventurers, voluntarily ſolicited to be taken under the protection of the Britiſh government, and honourable terms were granted to them in conſequence of their ſpontaneous ſubmiſſion. It is well known, that theſe rivers are ſituated in the weſtern part of the province of Guiana, in South America, ſo memorable in hiſtory for the unhappy fate of the gallant and learned Sir Walter Raleigh. Theſe, with the principal colony called Surinam (which, being better fortified, ſtill retained its allegiance to Holland) were formerly Britiſh colonies; but being taken by the Dutch, in the reign of Charles the Second, they were ceded to them at the peace, in exchange for the more valuable colony of New York. The negroes of Dutch Guiana ſtill ſpeak a rude dialect of Engliſh; and many of the inhabitants of all the ſettlements, are originally from this country. The ſoil and climate are uncommonly fertile; but the unhealthineſs of the latter counterbalances, in a great meaſure, all the other advantages.

In the mean time a fleet of twenty ſail of the line, and a fifty-four gun ſhip, had ſailed from Breſt, under the command of M. de Graſſe; and

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as the French had already eight ſail of the line and a fifty-gun ſhip at Martinique and St. Domingo, every appearance promiſed them a decided ſuperiority in the Weſt Indies. To add to the embarraſſment of the Britiſh Admiral, he had diſpatched a ſmall ſquadron under the command of Commodore Hotham, with the convoy which conveyed the Euſtatia treaſure to England; ſo that, at the point of time when De Graſſe arrived in thoſe ſeas, the Britiſh force was reduced to twenty-one ſail of the line. As it was therefore of the utmoſt importance to intercept the ſquadron of De Graſſe, Admiral Rodney detached the admirals Hood and Drake, with ſeventeen ſail, for that purpoſe, while he remained himſelf at St. Euſtatia, with a few ſhips, for the protection of that iſland.

The point where Sir Samuel Hood was ſtationed, was in the channel of St. Lucia, directly off Fort Royal in Martinique. On the 28th of April the French fleet was diſcovered by ſome of the Britiſh cruizers, and on the 29th the whole fleet appeared in ſight. The convoy got ſafe into the harbour of Fort Royal; and ſuch was the maſterly diſpoſition of M. de Graſſe, that four ſhips of the line, and a fifty-gun ſhip, out of Fort Royal harbour, were enabled, notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of the Britiſh commanders, to join the fleet. The French, notwithſtanding this ſuperiority, appeared ſtill deſirous of avoiding a cloſe engagement; and after many ineffectual endeavours on the part of the Britiſh, to gain the wind, ſo as to force the French admiral to a deciſive action, both fleets ceaſed firing, and each claimed the victory. To the French, indeed, it was almoſt productive of equal conſequences; for though the loſs of the Engliſh, in men, amounted to not more than thirty-ſix killed, and one hundred and ſixty-

one wounded, yet five of the ſhips were ſo completely diſabled, as to be rendered unfit for immediate ſervice; and thus every object was obtained by the French admiral which he wiſhed to accompliſh:—his ſuperiority in thoſe ſeas was decided and irreſiſtible.

On the following day M. de Graſſe, perceiving the advantage he had gained, was deſirous of bringing the conteſt to that concluſive point which he before had evaded; but in this he was diſappointed by the manœuvres of Sir Samuel Hood. The condition of the wounded ſhips reduced the Britiſh fleet to the neceſſity of bearing away for Antigua; and the French, fluſhed even with the ſemblance of a naval victory over the Engliſh, purſued in the morning, with unaccuſtomed vigour. The Engliſh fleet, however, arrived ſafe at Antigua.

The acknowledged ſuperiority of the French, tempted the Marquis de Bouillé, on the 10th of May, to make an attack on St. Lucia, in which he was baffled, though the French pretend that it was no more than a feint to diſguiſe their deſign upon Tobago. On the 23d they appeared off the latter iſland; and Governor Ferguſon immediately diſpatched the Rattleſnake with the intelligence to Sir George Rodney, who was then at Barbadoes; and the captain had the good fortune to deliver the diſpatch at twelve o'clock on the night of the 26th. The admiral ſeems to have conſidered the force of the invaders as greatly inferior to what it really was, and therefore contented himſelf with ſending ſix ſail of the line, with ſome frigates and land forces, under Admiral Drake, to the relief of Tobago, cautioning him to beware of the grand fleet of France, and, after landing the troops, not to riſk an engagement with a ſuperior force. On the

the 29th, the day after Drake's departure, Sir George Rodney received intelligence that the French fleet had been ſeen to the windward of St. Lucia, apparently ſtanding towards Tobago; and upon reaching the iſland, on the morning of the 30th, Admiral Drake diſcovered the enemy's fleet of twenty ſail between him and the land. He was therefore obliged to retreat, without landing the troops; and the garriſon had not only the mortification to ſee that they could not be relieved, but were farther alarmed with the report, that the whole fleet had fallen a prey to the enemy.

It was not without much difficulty that the French, under the Marquis de Bouillé, reduced the brave garriſon and militia to a capitulation; but when Admiral Rodney, on the 4th of June, arrived off the iſland, he found it in poſſeſſion of the enemy; and the following day was in ſight of the French fleet, conſiſting of twenty-four ſail of the line, while his own, at the utmoſt, did not exceed twenty or twenty-one. As the iſland was thus gone beyond recovery, the admiral did not think it prudent to riſk an engagement with an enemy ſo much his ſuperior, and returned to Barbadoes.

To avoid the neceſſity of reverting to theſe tranſactions, it may be proper to treſpaſs a little on the chronological order, to remark the ill fate which attended the booty ſeized by the plunderers of St. Euſtatia. The homeward-bound convoy, which conveyed a great part of the property, was almoſt entirely captured by the French, in the Channel, on the 2d of May; and the iſland itſelf was taken on the 26th of November following by four ſhips of the line and a handful of men, under the command of the Marquis de Bouillé, and the whole Engliſh garriſon made priſoners of war. The conduct of

the French commander was calculated in every view to have the happieſt effect in conciliating the affections of the Dutch. The iſland was no ſooner in his poſſeſſion than he called a meeting of the merchants and inhabitants, and aſſured them that it was no part of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's intention to make any advantage of the capture, and that the expedition had been planned merely to relieve them from their diſtreſſes and oppreſſions. A proviſional governor was appointed from among the ancient inhabitants, till orders ſhould be received from the States-General; and a large ſum of money found in the governor's houſe, was diſtributed among ſuch of the inhabitants as could eſtabliſh their claim to the property. The iſland of St. Martin ſubmitted, at the ſame time, to the French arms.

In the proceedings of laſt year, we had occaſion to notice the ſucceſs of Don Bernardo de Galvez, againſt the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſſippi, and Fort Mobille. Theſe ſucceſſes naturally extended his views to Penſacola; and the involved ſtate of the affairs of Britain, in every quarter of the world, was well calculated to encourage the project. With this purpoſe in view, Don Galvez proceeded himſelf to the Havannah, to forward the preparations. A violent hurricane had, however, nearly ruined the Spaniſh fleet deſtined for the expedition; and being obliged to return to the Havanna to refit, another ſquadron of five ſail of the line and ſome ſmaller veſſels, were ſent to conduct Don Galvez on his way to Penſacola, before which he arrived on the 9th of March. The place reſiſted ſucceſsfully till the 8th of May, when the accidental falling of a bomb, which burſt near the door, and blew up a magazine belonging

belonging to an advanced redoubt, decided its fate. By the explosion, forty-eight soldiers, twenty-seven sailors, and a negro, lost their lives, and twenty-four others were dangerously wounded. Though the destruction occasioned by this accident exposed them greatly to the attacks of the enemy, yet the garrison still continued to defend the town, and at last obtained an honourable capitulation, which was all that in their destitute and unprotected situation could be expected. Thus fell, through the total neglect of administration, the province of West Florida, which, at the last peace, was accounted one of the most brilliant acquisitions obtained by a seven years bloody and expensive war.

The year 1781 opened with a favourable prospect for the British in North-America. The distresses of the American army became gradually too great to be endured. Their arrears of pay were considerable; and in all the hardships of a winter campaign, they were almost destitute of cloathing. The first appearance of discontent broke out in the Pensylvania line, who were hutted at Morristown in the Jerseys: an ambiguity in the terms of their enlistment, furnished the pretext for their conduct. They were enlisted for three years, or during the war; and the three years being expired, they insisted that the choice of continuing or not in the service, was in themselves, while the officers insisted it was in the state.

On the night of the 1st of January, the whole, except three regiments, on a concerted signal, turned out without their officers, and insisted on a redress of grievances. All endeavours to quell them by persuasion or by force, were in vain, and several officers were wounded, and one captain was killed in the attempt. General Wayne interposed,

alſo, in vain. As he preſented his piſtols to them, their anſwer was, "We love and reſpect you; but "if you fire, you are a dead man." They elected temporary officers from their own body, and appointed a ſerjeant-major, who had been a deſerter from the Britiſh, to be their commander. They then moved off in good order, to the number of one thouſand three hundred men, to Princetown; and General Wayne, to prevent their plundering the country for ſubſiſtance, forwarded proviſions after them.

Sir Henry Clinton was not an inactive ſpectator of this defection, and left no means untried to ſeduce them to his ſervice. Three confidential meſſengers were diſpatched by him, to take them under the protection of the Britiſh government, and to offer them the moſt captivating terms, if they would only prove falſe to their country; but with a Roman ſpirit they rejected his bribes, and delivered up his meſſengers to General Wayne, and they were immediately executed as ſpies. Two deputations from Congreſs were in the mean time ſent to perſuade them to return to their duty. The firſt, conſiſting of General Sullivan, Mr. Matthews, Doctor Witherſpoon, and Mr. Atlee, were not, it appears, inveſted with ſufficient powers; and therefore their application proved abortive. The ſecond, which conſiſted of Mr. Reed, preſident of the State of Penſylvania, and General Potter, was more ſucceſsful; but, either from the reaſonable demands of the ſoldiers, or the weakneſs of the government, almoſt all the requiſitions of the inſurgents were complied with. Thoſe, whoſe term of enliſtment was expired, received their diſcharge, and the arrears of pay were liquidated to the reſt. Preſident Reed offered a purſe

of one hundred guineas to them, as a reward for delivering up the agents of Clinton; but it was nobly refuſed. They anſwered that, "They had "only done their duty, and wiſhed no other reward "than the approbation of their country, for which "they had ſo often fought and bled."

A ſucceſsful mutiny is certain to produce others. Thus the example of the Penſylvania line was followed by about one hundred and ſixty of the Jerſey troops. As theſe men conducted themſelves in a more outrageous manner, and as the example, if ſuffered to proceed, might be fatal, they were reduced by force, and two of the ringleaders tried by a court-martial, and executed.

For the operations of this campaign, the Britiſh miniſtry, as an expiring effort, had arranged an extenſive but ill-concerted plan. While the main body, under Sir Henry Clinton at New-York, was oppoſed to the force of Waſhington and Count Rochambeau, Lord Cornwallis from the ſouth was to pervade the whole of the interjacent ſtates, and to ſubject them to the authority of Britain; while, as Virginia was conſidered as the centre of the confederacy, it was to be attacked on three ſides, the apoſtate Arnold being diſpatched, in the capacity of a Britiſh officer, to carry on a predatory war in that quarter.

It is more than probable, that this injudicious plan was dictated by the ſame petty ſpirit of revenge which governed all the meaſures of the Britiſh miniſtry; and that Virginia, for being the birth-place of Waſhington, and ſome of the moſt reſpectable opponents of the court, was deſtined to pillage and deſolation. If this was not the motive, it will be difficult to account for the meaſures of government at this juncture. If any

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ſerious expectation was indeed entertained of recovering America, a plan totally different was required. Contending alone againſt a powerful confederacy, it was the policy of Great Britain not to expoſe any part of her force in precarious ſituations; and in poſſeſſion of the whole of Georgia and South Carolina, on the one ſide, and of the province of New-York, and a part of the Jerſeys, which completely interſected the continent, and broke the connexion between the Northern and Southern States, the Britiſh forces ſhould have contented themſelves with ſtanding upon the defenſive, and the generals ought to have been occupied in conciliating the inhabitants, in eſtabliſhing the government, and in fortifying the frontiers of thoſe provinces of which they were in poſſeſſion. In the mean time the trade of the remaining provinces would have been totally ruined, and the inhabitants, wearied out by their own diſtreſſes and calamities, would naturally have directed their views to the Britiſh government for a return of that protection and proſperity which they had formerly enjoyed. But, like deſperate perſons who, conſcious that they could not rely upon their judgment, were determined to throw the whole event upon fortune, the miniſtry choſe to hazard all on a ſingle caſt of the die, even though the chances were infinitely and obviouſly againſt them.

The choice of Arnold for this expedition, was not leſs injudicious. He could not be regarded with reſpect by the Britiſh ſoldiery, and his very name excited horror in all the Americans. His conduct was ſuch as might be expected. Havock and devaſtation marked his progreſs. To put a ſtop to theſe proceedings, General Waſhing-

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ton determined to detach the Marquis de la Fayette, with about twelve hundred infantry; and the French admiral M. D'Eſtouches, who, on the death of M. de Ternay, in December, had ſucceeded to the command, willingly conſented to co-operate with him in an attempt to capture Arnold and his party. The French commander, with a reinforcement of one thouſand five hundred land-forces, ſailed for Virginia from Rhode iſland on the 8th of March. By what means the Britiſh gained intelligence of the plan, is uncertain; but the French fleet was immediately purſued by Admiral Arbuthnot, with an equal number of ſhips, but greatly ſuperior in force and weight of metal. The two ſquadrons engaged off the Capes of Virginia; and the Britiſh admiral's conduct has been greatly blamed, as it is confidently affirmed that he might have taken the whole French fleet, had he made the ſignal for a *cloſe action*. Neither Admiral Arbuthnot, nor Admiral Graves, who was ſecond in command, had any *conſiderable* ſhare in the action, the whole weight of which fell upon the Robuſte, Captain Colby; the Europa, Captain Child; and the Prudent, Captain Burnett, who fought *bravely*. The admirals' ſhips had only *three* men wounded; but the loſs of the three ſhips juſt mentioned, was thirty killed, and fifty-five wounded.

Though the action, however, was not ſo deciſive as the ſanguine friends of their country might have wiſhed and expected, ſtill, by preventing the French from gaining the Cheſapeak, Arnold was ſaved; and on the 25th he received a reinforcement from New-York of two thouſand men under General Philips, a brave and experienced officer. To enumerate the houſes and villages which he conſumed, would only diſguſt the reader. General

ral Phillips was relieved by death from being the ſpectator or the agent in ſo diſgraceful a war, in the beginning of May; and Arnold returned to Peterſburgh, and ſoon after, on the approach of the American army, to New-York. The General terminated his miſſion by the burning of his native place, New London, in Connecticut. At the taking of Fort Griſwold (one of the fortreſſes erected for the protection of New London) a ſhocking maſſacre of the American garriſon took place, after the fort had ſurrendered. An officer of the Britiſh troops inquired, on entering the fort, who commanded? Colonel Ledyard, an American officer, anſwered, "I did, Sir, but you "do now," and preſented him with his ſword. The Colonel was, however, immediately run through the body, and no quarter whatever was given.

In the ſouthern parts the incidents of the campaign were more varied and more important. In the midſt of the danger and diſtreſs to which theſe ſtates were expoſed, "though Congreſs," ſays the hiſtorian of America, "was unable to forward "either men or money, they did what was equi-"valent; they ſent them a general, whoſe head "was a council, and whoſe military talents were "equal to a reinforcement." On the 2d of December, 1780, General Greene arrived at Charlotte town in North Carolina, to take upon him the command of the ſouthern army; and in a few hours after his arrival, a report was received, that Colonel Waſhington, by a maſterly ſtratagem, had made priſoners of the garriſon of Clermont, amounting to one hundred men.

The whole ſouthern army of the Americans, at this period, did not exceed two thouſand men; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that they were enabled

enabled to obtain ſupplies; yet this ſmall force the general determined to divide, and ſent General Morgan, with a reſpectable detachment, to the weſtern extremity of South Carolina. The Britiſh commander in chief conceived this to be a favourable opportunity to effect the deſtruction of Morgan, and detached Tarleton, in the beginning of January, with orders "to puſh him to the utmoſt." Tarleton was ſuperior in force to Morgan in the proportion of five to four in infantry, and in cavalry of more than three to one; and Morgan had the additional diſadvantage, that the great majority of his troops were raw militia. After a purſuit of ſome days the Britiſh troops overtook Morgan, at a place called the Cow-pens, near Pacolet River, where he halted to give them battle.

The judicious diſpoſition of the American general decided the victory in his favour. The untrained militia, on whom he placed little dependance, formed his firſt line; they were however commanded by an able officer, Colonel Pickens, and inſtructed to form on the right of the ſecond line, when forced to retire. The ſecond line conſiſted of troops on whom perfect reliance could be placed; and Colonel Waſhington, with a ſmall body of cavalry, was placed in the rear of the whole.

The diſpoſitions on the part of Colonel Tarleton were not equally well made. The light infantry and fuſileers, though almoſt worn out with fatigue, were ordered to form a line; but before the order could be executed, they were led on by their commander in the utmoſt confuſion. The Britiſh advanced with a ſhout, and poured in an inceſſant fire of muſketry. Colonel Pickens ordered his men to reſtrain their fire; but this order, though executed with firmneſs, was not ſufficient to repel the Britiſh legion. The militia, as the general had

expected,

expected, fell back; and even the ſecond line, after an obſtinate conflict, was forced to give way. In this criſis, Colonel Waſhington made a ſucceſsful charge upon Colonel Ogilvie, who, with the Britiſh dragoons, was cutting down the militia. At the ſame moment, from the excellent precautions taken by General Morgan, the continental troops began to rally, and charge with fixed bayonets, and the militia were enabled to follow their example. The conſequence was, that Tarleton was completely routed; upwards of three hundred of the Britiſh were left dead upon the field, and five hundred were taken priſoners. The Americans had only twelve men killed, and ſixty wounded. This ſingle repulſe did more eſſential injury to the Britiſh intereſt, than was equivalent to all the advantages gained by this active but unſkilful partizan, in the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes in which he was victorious.

With the expectation of regaining the priſoners, and deſtroying Morgan's corps, Lord Cornwallis immediately determined on a vigorous purſuit; but Morgan, aware of the dangers of delay, diſpatched the militia with the priſoners, and manœuvred in the rear with the regulars and cavalry. In this critical ſituation, General Greene left the main army under the command of General Huger, and rode one hundred and fifty miles to join Morgan's detachment. Morgan intended to gain the mountains, in order to ſecure the priſoners; but General Greene ordered the latter to Charlotteville, and directed the troops to Guildford court-houſe, whither General Huger was alſo to proceed with the main army.

The hardſhips of both armies in this tedious purſuit were incredible; but the Americans ſuffered moſt, as they were almoſt deſtitute of ſhoes. The Britiſh

British army gained the Catawba on the evening of the same day in which the Americans had crossed it; but before morning a heavy fall of rain rendered the river impassable for several hours. The British met with a further detention at the Yadkin, for want of boats, and were obliged to make a circuit to pass the river at the higher fords. These delays allowed the two divisions of the American army to form the proposed junction at Guildford court-house; but they were still so inferior in force, as to render it imprudent to risk an action. The next object, therefore, of Lord Cornwallis was to cut off the American commander, by passing over into Virginia; but in this he was disappointed by the skill of the general and the activity of his troops. The continental army having now completely evacuated North Carolina, Lord Cornwallis erected the royal standard, with many encouragements to those who should immediately join it; and as General Greene was informed that his retreat had dispirited the inhabitants, and induced many of them to submit, he determined to recross the Dan, and risk an action, whatever might be the consequences. In their return, a party of Loyalists, to the amount of three hundred and upwards, were overtaken by a detachment of light troops, commanded by Colonels Pickens and Lee, and defeated with great loss. The remainder of this miserable body, in their retreat, were met by Colonel Tarleton, who, with his usual impetuosity, cut them to pieces, mistaking them for the rebel militia of the country.

By these events the plans of Lord Cornwallis were completely counteracted, and the recruiting service for the British government was entirely stopped. While this was the case, it was evidently

the intereſt of General Greene ſtill to avoid an engagement, which by great ſkill and activity he was enabled to do for ſome time. He lay ſeven days within ten miles of Lord Cornwallis's camp, but took a new poſition every night, and kept it a profound ſecret where he was next to encamp. By theſe manœuvres he avoided an action for three weeks, at the expiration of which he received a reinforcement of three brigades of militia and four hundred regulars, which gave him a ſuperiority in numbers, though his troops were greatly inferior to the Britiſh. He however determined no longer to avoid an engagement; and on the 15th of March a ſpirited action took place. The North Carolina militia, which compoſed his front line, gave way almoſt on the firſt onſet of the Britiſh; but the ſecond and third lines, conſiſting of the Virginia militia and the continentals, made a vigorous reſiſtance. The Americans were driven off the field of battle, but they retreated in good order, and no farther than three miles, till General Greene had collected his ſtragglers, after which he took a poſition at Speedwell's iron-works, ten miles from Guildford, the ſcene of action. The victory coſt the Britiſh dear, as they loſt above ſix hundred, while the loſs of their adverſaries was not more than five hundred; and it ſoon appeared that the real diſadvantage was on the ſide of Lord Cornwallis, ſince on the 19th he decamped, abandoning all the fruits of victory, and leaving behind him his hoſpital, with the wounded men. His Lordſhip was purſued by General Greene, as far as Ramſay's mill on Deep River; but the Britiſh general taking the route towards Virginia, Greene found it expedient to return to the ſouthern ſtates, where his preſence was ſtill more neceſſary. While

the

the two armies were engaged in the tranſactions we have juſt related, the hopes of the Whig inhabitants of South Carolina were ſupported by the gallant exertions of Generals Sumter and Marion, and ſome other able partizans; and on the return of General Greene, the ballance was ſo far changed, that the Americans now, in their turn, commenced a plan of offenſive operations. The firſt inſtance of ſucceſs which they experienced, was the reduction of Fort Watſon, ſituated between Camden and Charleſtown. Though this fortification was erected on an Indian mount, upwards of thirty feet high, the Americans, with their uſual adroitneſs in this kind of operations, erected a work which overlooked the fort into which they fired with ſuch execution, that the garriſon, amounting to one hundred and fourteen men, were glad to ſurrender by capitulation to General Marion, and Lieutenant-colonel Lee, the American commanders.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, General Greene proceeded to inveſt Camden, where Lord Rawdon was ſtrongly poſted with about nine thouſand men. On the 25th however his Lordſhip, with his whole force, ſallied out, and attacked the beſiegers (who were ſtronger by one hundred men) with ſuch ſpirit, that the Americans, after a ſevere conflict, were forced to retreat. In this inſtance, the maſterly generalſhip and indefatigable induſtry of Greene again ſaved his country. He retreated in ſuch order that he was enabled to take a poſition only five miles diſtant from his former encampment; and he afterwards changed his ſituation agreeably to circumſtances, ſo as moſt effectually to cut off the ſupplies of the Britiſh army. In this ſituation no alternative preſented

itſelf to his Lordſhip but to evacuate the poſt, or be ſtarved into a ſurrender. He preferred the former; and while no blame is to be imputed to him for this proceeding, ſtill it muſt be confeſſed, that no meaſure could have tended more directly to animate the hopes of his adverſaries, and of the inhabitants in general. The Britiſh poſts in the neighbourhood ſurrendered in a quick ſucceſſion, and by the 15th of June the fort of Ninety-ſix was the only one which reſiſted. The ſiege of this place was raiſed on the 18th, by Lord Rawdon marching to its relief with a reinforcement of two thouſand men, and the American army was once more compelled to retreat.

One mode of conduct only was left, by which the little American army could be preſerved, and that mode was fortunately adopted by General Greene; this was, to avoid an engagement till the Britiſh force ſhould be divided. This no ſooner took place, than Greene was ready to attack; ſo that Lord Rawdon, after repeated attempts to garriſon certain places was obliged to keep together his whole force, and even the fort of Ninety-ſix was at laſt abandoned.

In the courſe of theſe manœuvres the Britiſh were driven within forty miles of Charleſtown; but as they were deſirous of retaining a ſmall tract of fertile territory, they attempted to make a ſtand at the Eutaw ſprings, where a ſevere conflict took place, on the 8th of September, between the Britiſh commanded by Colonel Stewart, and the Americans under General Greene, in which the former were defeated, with the loſs of one thouſand one hundred killed, wounded, and priſoners. In conſequence of this action, the Britiſh, during the remainder of the campaign, were confined entirely

entirely to the vicinity of Charleſtown, and every hope of reducing the country appeared to vaniſh.

In narrating the hiſtory of wars, the inſtances of diſgraceful atrocities are generally ſufficient to diſguſt a humane mind. What is in itſelf the greateſt of all poſſible abuſes is naturally productive of leſſer evils; but in a civil war all theſe calamities are increaſed in an enormous proportion. Then, in the eyes of the vulgar, cruelty is conſidered as a kind of duty; and ſo many of the beſt affections of the heart being neceſſarily ſacrificed, it becomes callous to the reſt; while the lively intereſt which the parties take in the ſubject of the diſpute, adds ardour and ferocity to all the paſſions. There is even a faſcinating power in names. The Americans, from the firſt of the conteſt, were denominated *rebels*; and as ſoldiers, whatever their rank, are not among the moſt enlightened of mankind, the ideas that naturally aſſociated with this contemptuous appellation, were gibbets and executions. On moſt occaſions, therefore, the Americans were treated with indiſcriminate ſeverity. They were impriſoned in cold waſte buildings; their allowance of proviſion and cloathing was exceedingly ſcanty, and theſe evils were aggravated by the habitual knavery of the commiſſaries and agents. In theſe dreary repoſitories of miſery, numbers died of dyſenteries and other complaints; but their ſituation on board the priſon-ſhips was ſtill more deplorable, and in *one* of them only, the Jerſey, which was ſtationed off New-York, it is aſſerted on good evidence, that upwards of *eleven thouſand* perſons died in the courſe of ſix years. On the other ſide, the Americans were far from guiltleſs. Before government

was in ſome meaſure organiſed by Congreſs, the executive department was in many inſtances uſurped by ſelf-created committees, and ſeveral acts of cruelty were exerciſed upon the unfortunate loyaliſts, againſt whom the reſentment of the provincials was principally directed, as traitors and enemies to their country.

It is with infinite regret that we are obliged to record, that this intemperate conduct was, in ſome inſtances, imitated by Britiſh officers of high rank, and of diſtinguiſhed character. The ſevere, and indeed unjuſtifiable conduct of the Britiſh towards the people of South Carolina, in forcing them to take arms againſt their country, has been already cenſured; but as one inſtance of this ſeverity has attracted much attention, we ſhall briefly ſtate the facts, as related by a reſpectable hiſtorian (Dr. Gordon), who ſolemnly avers his account to be "the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," as far as he was able to inform himſelf of it.

During the ſiege of Charleſtown, Colonel Iſaac Hayne ſerved in a corps of militia horſe; and after the capitulation, ſeeing no alternative but to abandon his property and family, or ſurrender to the conquerors, he went voluntarily within the Britiſh lines, and ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner of war, hoping to be treated as other priſoners, and granted a parole. His abilities and activity were however too conſpicuous, not to have excited a degree of rancour in the conquerors, and he was informed that "he muſt either become a Britiſh ſubject, or "ſubmit to cloſe confinement." At that period his family was expoſed to the ravages of the ſmall pox, of which his lady ſoon after died; and to leave them expoſed in this ſituation to the depredations and cruelty of the marauding parties of royaliſts,

royaliſts, was diſtreſſing in the higheſt degree. In this ſtate of perplexity he was induced to ſign a declaration of allegiance to the King of Great Britain, but with the expreſs proviſo, ratified by the ſolemn aſſurances of General Patterſon, commandant of the garriſon, and James Simpſon, eſq. intendant of police—"that he ſhould not be called "upon to ſupport with his arms the royal go-"vernment." Having ſubmitted to this, he was permitted to return to his family; but he was ſcarcely ſettled there, when, in direct violation of what had paſſed at the time of his ſubſcribing, he was repeatedly called upon to take up arms againſt his country, and aſſured that, if he did not, he ſhould be committed to *cloſe confinement*. This Colonel Hayne conſidered as a diſſolution of the compact on the part of the Britiſh; and to avoid what he regarded as a crime againſt his country, he left his family, and again joined the American army. He had the misfortune again to fall into the hands of the Britiſh. "At firſt he was pro-"miſed a trial, and had counſel prepared to juſ-"tify his conduct by the laws of nations and the "uſages of war: but this was finally refuſed, and "he was ordered for *execution* by Lord Rawdon and "Colonel Balfour." The royal Lieutenant-governor Bull, much to his credit, and immenſe numbers both of royaliſts and Americans, made interceſſion for his life; but Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour continued firm to their determination, and Colonel Hayne was hanged on the 4th of Auguſt, 1781.

After the battle of Guildford, Lord Cornwallis marched to Wilmington in North Carolina, whence he proceeded on his intended expedition into Virginia. The march of the Britiſh troops was for ſeveral days a march of triumph, and without oppo-

ſition or impediment. At Swift Creek, and afterwards at Fiſhing Creek, ſome faint attempts were made to impede their progreſs, but with no effect. At Halifax his Lordſhip defeated ſome parties, and took a quantity of ſtores, with but little loſs; in leſs than a month the march from Wilmington to Peterſburg was completed, and at this place, on the 20th of May, he joined the army which General Phillips had commanded, and had the night before conducted to this ſtation: and his Lordſhip had the farther gratification of finding a freſh reinforcement from Sir Henry Clinton, of one thouſand eight hundred men. The only force which the Americans had in thoſe parts, was about three thouſand men, wretchedly cloathed and appointed, under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, who yet, by the rapidity of his movements, had ſaved the capital of Virginia, and all the continental ſtores, from falling into the hands of the Britiſh. As the reſentment of the miniſtry was greatly excited againſt this volunteer in the cauſe of liberty, Lord Cornwallis, on aſſuming the command, in full confidence from the ſuperiority of his numbers, wrote home to his maſters—"The "boy cannot eſcape me." Notwithſtanding this declaration, however, the Marquis, by a variety of well-concerted ſtratagems, was not only able to elude the purſuit, but greatly to haraſs the Britiſh general, whom he had the addreſs to impreſs with an opinion that his force was much greater than it really was.

In the beginning of the campaign, General Waſhington had ſeriouſly concerted with the Count de Rochambeau, a plan for the attack of New-York. Several circumſtances, however, concurred to induce them to relinquiſh it. Sir Henry Clinton

ton had received a ſtrong reinforcement: the progreſs of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia was alarming; and the final deſtination of the French fleet for the Cheſapeak, determined the generals to co-operate with it.

On the 30th of Auguſt, the Count de Graſſe, with twenty-eight ſail of the line, entered the Cheſapeak, and at the ſame time Lord Cornwallis received the alarming intelligence, that the French and American army was rapidly advancing towards Virginia. His Lordſhip was then poſted near York town, on the peninſula which divides York and James River, and not far diſtant from Williamſburg. The whole body of troops under his Lordſhip's command, amounted to ſeven thouſand men, and the poſt was ſtrongly fortified. The Count de Graſſe loſt no time in blocking up York river, with three ſhips of the line and ſome frigates. Three thouſand two hundred French, under the command of the Marquis de St. Simon, were diſembarked from De Graſſe's fleet, and formed a junction with the Marquis de la Fayette, at Williamſburg, which effectually incloſed the Britiſh by land. At this criſis it was, that Lord Cornwallis ſhould have riſked an engagement, and endeavoured to extricate himſelf; but he was either deceived by the hope of reinforcement from Sir Henry Clinton; or what is more probable, becauſe more analogous to the injudicious proceedings of miniſtry, his orders were poſitive, and did not allow of a retreat.

On the 7th of September, Admiral Graves made a faint and feeble attempt to relieve Lord Cornwallis. The Count de Barras had ſailed from Rhode Iſland with eight ſhips of the line to join the Count de Graſſe; and Graves ſailed, in the hope of intercepting him. De Graſſe, however,

had previouſly drawn his force without the Cheſapeak, to protect M. de Barras, and an indeciſive engagement took place between him and the Britiſh admiral. In the mean time De Barras had taken a circuit round Bermuda, in order to avoid the Britiſh admiral; and while he and De Graſſe were manœuvering, paſſed both fleets in the night, got within the Cheſapeak, gave the French a decided ſuperiority; and Admiral Graves was obliged to return, after having effected nothing.

In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton was ſo deeply impreſſed with the apprehenſion of an attack upon New York, which was ſtrengthened by an intercepted letter from General Waſhington which fell into his hands while that plan was really in agitation, that he conceived every movement towards Virginia, to be only a feint to draw him out; and directed his whole attention to fortifying the poſt which he meant to occupy. On the 14th of September, however, General Waſhington and the Count de Rochambeau arrived at Williamſburg; and on the 25th of the ſame month the whole of the allied forces, amounting to twelve thouſand men, rendezvous'd there, and in five days moved down to the inveſture of York town. On the 9th and 10th of October the beſiegers opened their works, with a heavy diſcharge of artillery. Two redoubts, which were advanced on the left of the Britiſh, greatly impeded the progreſs of the combined armies, and it was judged neceſſary to carry them by ſtorm. To excite a proper degree of emulation in the men, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, and that of the other to the Americans. Both were attacked and carried, with a becoming ſpirit and with little loſs. Thus reduced to deſpair, the high ſpirit of the Britiſh Peer was compelled

pelled to ſolicit a ceſſation of arms from an American republican, whom his abſurd colleagues at home were loading with every opprobrious epithet of rebel, traitor, &c. On the 19th, Lord Cornwallis, with the whole of the Britiſh army, ſurrendered priſoners of war :—a fortunate circumſtance perhaps eventually for Great Britain, as it was the means of recovering from their infatuation a beſotted people, bent upon their own ruin by the purſuit of a fruitleſs and deſtructive war; and whoſe proverbial folly and credulity had been excited by every art of a miniſtry, who, with a cloud of locuſts, commiſſaries, agents, &c. &c. were actually gaining by the national misfortunes, and carrying on a lucrative commerce, the baſis of which was the treaſure of the nation.

A Britiſh fleet and army, deſtined for the relief of Lord Cornwallis, appeared off the Cheſapeak on the 25th of October; but, being informed of his Lordſhip's ſurrender, they returned to New York.

A torrent of exultation overſpread the whole continent of America on this occaſion; and ſuch was the effect of the news, that the door-keeper of Congreſs, an aged man, actually dropped down dead in a tranſport of joy. The event was celebrated by General Waſhington, by a ſolemn thankſgiving; and, what was ſtill more meritorious, by the performance of a really religious act, an order, "that all under arreſt ſhould be pardoned and ſet "at liberty."

Though Great Britain was thus unfortunate in the Weſt, the loſs was greatly compenſated by the unexpected ſucceſs which attended her arms int he Eaſt; where the vigilance and ability of the Company's ſervants prevented the fatal effects which muſt otherwiſe have attended the groſs neglect of adminiſtration,

adminiſtration, who had abandoned to chance thoſe important territories, and left them to be plundered and deſolated by any invader.

After the defeat of Colonel Baillie, the whole Carnatic was evacuated by the Britiſh, and Madras itſelf might almoſt be conſidered in a ſtate of blockade. The arrival of the indefatigable Sir Eyre Coote, in the latter end of 1780, and the vigorous meaſures which he purſued, effected a change as ſudden as it was unexpected; and relieved, almoſt at a ſingle blow, the Carnatic from the ravages of a dangerous and remorſeleſs enemy. In two days after his arrival, he took his ſeat at the council-board, and produced orders from the ſupreme government of Bengal, for the ſuſpenſion of Mr. Whitehill, the preſident, whoſe intemperate conduct had been a chief cauſe of alienating the affections of the Nizam. The ſituation of affairs in the Carnatic at the time of Sir Eyre Coote's arrival was ſo deplorable, as to exceed all report or imagination upon the ſubject. Even the neceſſary arrangements for the ſecurity of Fort St. George, the very foundation of our exiſtence on that coaſt, had not been made. The artillery was ſo far from being in readineſs, that the gun-carriages were then making up. The troops were diſpirited; the Seapoys deſerting; the country was deſolated; the inhabitants treacherous; and all reſources were cut off. The general, therefore, loſt no time in remedying theſe defects, and in putting the army on the moſt reſpectable footing poſſible. He forwarded diſpatches at the ſame time to Sir Edward Hughes and to General Goddard, to urge them to be active in diſtreſſing the poſſeſſions of Hyder on the Malabar coaſt; and judiciouſly adviſed them to promote, as much as poſſible, a peace with the Mahrattas.

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At the beginning of the year 1781, Hyder's force was greatly augmented; and even within the boundaries of the Carnatic it was eſtimated at above one hundred thouſand men; while that of Sir Eyre Coote did not exceed ſeven thouſand. The firſt and moſt neceſſary ſtep in theſe difficult circuſtances, was to relieve the places which were beſieged by the enemy, ſome of which contained large magazines of proviſions and artillery. The precipitation with which Hyder Ally abandoned theſe places is extraordinary, conſidering the immenſity of his force: but he either thought it unſafe to divide it, or was unwilling to truſt his unſeaſoned troops in a conflict with a regular force, and hoped probably, by carrying on a deſultory war, to inure his people by degrees to thoſe forms of diſcipline which were neceſſary to enable them to endure a conflict with an European army.

In the mean time the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, taking the advantage of the involved ſtate of the Britiſh affairs, revolted, and took into their ſervice three battalions of Seapoys, under the pretence that they were a part of Hyder's forces; they laid in large quantities of ſtores, and made every preparation for the reception of thoſe ſuccours, naval as well as military, which they ſhortly expected. One of the firſt meaſures of Sir Eyre Coote, therefore, after relieving the beſieged garriſons, was to reduce the refractory French to obedience; and in effecting this object, the general tempered wiſdom with mercy; and while he avoided all ſeverity of puniſhment, he ſo effectually diſarmed them, and deſtroyed all their craft, &c. that when M. de Orves appeared, ſoon after, with a ſquadron off Pondicherry, though he was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for water and proviſions, the want

want of boats on both ſides obliged him to leave the coaſt without obtaining the deſired relief.

The ſiege of Trichinopoly was one of Hyder's favourite enterprizes; and as it was well known that he was making conſiderable preparations for the achievement of that object, Sir Eyre Coote marched, in the month of June, as well to fruſtrate that deſign, as to repreſs his depredations on the ſide of Tanjour and the ſouthern provinces.

On the 1ſt of July the two armies encountered at Porto Novo. Hyder, relying on his immenſe force, which amounted, according to the beſt accounts, to upwards of one hundred and ſixty thouſand men, of whom forty thouſand were cavalry, with twenty-five thouſand Seapoys, armed and trained after the European manner, no longer avoided a general engagement; while the Britiſh commander, confident in the valour and ſuperior diſcipline of his little but manageable army, rejoiced in the proſpect of a deciſive action.

At ſeven in the morning the Britiſh army proceeded from Porto Novo, and after an hour's march came in ſight of the enemy, ſtrongly poſted. Hyder's artillery was well ſerved by Europeans, or perſons educated in that ſchool, and did conſiderable execution. In this critical ſituation, a bold movement was neceſſary; and Sir Eyre Coote determined to turn the right of the enemy, provided the country on that ſide would admit of his taking a ſweep ſo as to effect that purpoſe. Fortunately for him, the country accorded with his wiſhes, and, by this manœuvre, he was enabled to take the enemy obliquely, and avoid the full front and fire of their works and batteries. This movement, which was performed by the firſt line only, decided the fortune of the day. Hyder, with great dexterity and promptneſs, formed a new front to receive

the Britiſh general, and detached a large body of infantry to prevent the ſecond line, commanded by General Stuart, from obtaining poſſeſſion of ſome high grounds which it was neceſſary they ſhould occupy, effectually to ſupport the general. Thus a double battle was fought, and each wing was ſeparately and almoſt equally engaged. The European order and diſcipline was, however, finally victorious over the undiſciplined rabble of an eaſtern camp. The Myſorean force was routed on every ſide, and Hyder was obliged to retreat, after leaving three thouſand of his beſt troops dead on the field of battle. The loſs on the ſide of the Britiſh did not exceed four hundred in killed and wounded.

In the courſe of the following month, Sir Eyre Coote marched to the northward; reduced the city of Trepaſſore; and finding that Hyder was in full force at about ſixteen miles diſtance, determined to attack him. In a ſecond engagement, which laſted from nine in the morning till ſun-ſet, Hyder was again completely routed, with, however, a leſs diſproportion in the loſs, than on the 1ſt of July. On the 27th of September, the very day month of the preceding engagement, the Sultan of Myſore was defeated a third time, with conſiderable loſs, though the action did not commence till four o'clock in the afternoon. Immediately after this event, Vellore was relieved by Sir Eyre Coote, and ſome places of little importance were reduced.

During the courſe of theſe tranſactions, the ſhipping of Hyder Ally was deſtroyed by Sir Edward Hughes, in his own ports of Callicut and Mangalore. The Dutch, alſo, fatally experienced the valour and enterpriſe of the Britiſh nation in that quarter of the globe. In the month of Auguſt

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an expedition was undertaken by ſome gentlemen of the factory at Fort Marlborough, againſt Sumatra; and all the Dutch ſettlements on the Weſtern coaſt of that iſland were reduced without any loſs.

The unexpected ſucceſs of Sir Eyre Coote, alſo afforded leiſure and opportunity for an attack upon the town and fortreſs of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country, one of the moſt valuable of the Dutch ſettlements on the continent of India. Sir Hector Munro was appointed to conduct this enterpriſe, in concert with Admiral Sir Edward Hughes. The garriſon conſiſted of eight thouſand men, chiefly Seapoys, while the whole force of the beſiegers, including ſeamen and marines, did not exceed five thouſand. Notwithſtanding this diſparity, the garriſon ſurrendered by capitulation, on the 12th of November, after a ſiege of twenty-two days.

From theſe more public tranſactions, our attention is ſolicited by a matter more immediately affecting what may be termed the domeſtic concerns of the India Company. We allude to the expulſion of the Rajah Cheit Sing from the Zemindary of Benares.

The country of Benares lies at the diſtance of about ſix hundred miles to the north-weſt of Calcutta; and its extent from north to ſouth is about one hundred and fifty miles; nor is it much leſs from eaſt to weſt. It was a part of thoſe immenſe territories which the Nabob Vizier, Sujah ul Doula had acquired, from the misfortunes of the court of Delhi, and had been granted by him to Bulwant Sing, as Zemindar or tributary, who, in the year 1770, was ſucceeded by his ſon, the Rajah Cheit Sing, whoſe eſtabliſhment in the

ſucceſſion had been a great object with the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company.

On the death of Sujah Ul Dowla in 1775, the country of Benares was ceded to the Engliſh; and the Rajah continued in the ſame ſituation, as a feudal vaſſal to the Eaſt-India Company, as he had ſtood in to the Nabob Vizier, at a ſettled rate of tribute, which, it is by ſome aſſerted, could not legally be increaſed without the Rajah's conſent. The exigencies of the year 1778, however, induced the governor-general, Mr. Haſtings, to make ſome extraordinary requiſitions from the vaſſals of the Company; and the Rajah Cheit Sing was required to contribute an extraordinary ſubſidy of five lacks of rupees, or ſixty thouſand pounds. A farther reaſon alledged by Mr. Haſtings for this requiſition, was a ſuſpicion (which he had a reaſon to believe well founded) that the Rajah was not well affected to the Britiſh intereſts, and was deſirous, as well as others of the native powers, to erect his dominions into an independent ſovereignty, by the aid of the French. With great reluctance, the Rajah was induced to conſent to the payment; and the requiſition being repeated during three years, and every year worſe paid than before, a demand of two thouſand cavalry was at length added to the former, with which the Rajah declared himſelf abſolutely unable to comply.

Such was the ſtate of affairs when the governor-general proceeded on a political tour from Calcutta, on the 7th of July, 1781. There were ſeveral other inducements to Mr. Haſtings to undertake this journey, for he had not only to ſettle the affairs of Benares, but to reſtore order in the dominions of the Nabob Vizier; to obtain ſupplies from every quarter; and to conclude a ſepa-

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rate peace with Madajee Scindia, through the intervention of Colonel Muir. On the arrival of the governor-general at Buxar, on the confines of Benares, he was met by the Rajah. The meeting was conducted with civility on both ſides; but the Rajah complained of the exorbitance of the governor's demands, which were the immediate payment of a crore of rupees, or one million two hundred thouſand pounds, and the ſurrender of the fortreſs of Bidijegur, which he conſidered as "his "family reſidence, the depoſit of his women, and "of his honour."

Diſſatisfied that the Rajah did not immediately comply, the governor, who was attended in his progreſs by Colonel Popham and a body of troops, laid his perſon under arreſt ſoon after his arrival at Benares, and he was committed by Mr. Markham, the reſident, to the cuſtody of Lieutenants Stalker, Scot, and Simes, with two grenadier companies of Seapoys. To attempt ſo bold a meaſure with ſo inadequate a force, was undoubtedly an overſight in the governor, and the conſequences of the error almoſt immediately appeared. The arreſt was ſcarcely executed, before a large body of people were obſerved to croſs from Ramnagur, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and ſurround the palace where the Rajah was confined. A deſperate conflict enſued; and the muſkets of the Seapoys not being loaded, through a motive of delicacy, it is alledged, leſt they ſhould ſeem to miſtruſt their noble priſoner, the three Britiſh officers were killed upon the ſpot, and not more than twenty of the whole party eſcaped with their lives.

Major Popham loſt no time in bringing up the reſt of his detachment to quell the rebellion; but the Britiſh force arrived at Benares too late to prevent

prevent the escape of the Rajah. The unfortunate prince attempted a feeble resistance, and erected his standard at Lutteespoor. Reinforcements, however, arriving from every quarter to the British army, he was compelled to take refuge in his fortress of Bidjegur; and even this station he soon abandoned to his victorious enemies; and, taking with him all the treasure he could conveniently convey, bid an everlasting adieu to his country. Considerable treasures were found in Bidjegur; and the army, without waiting the permission of the supreme council, divided the spoil among themselves. According to the very improper proportion which custom has sanctioned with respect to prize-money, the commander-in-chief's share was thirty-six thousand pounds, while that of the common soldiers amounted only to somewhat more than SIX POUNDS.

The Governor-general was equally successful in settling the affairs of Oude; and on the 13th of October, a treaty of amity and alliance was concluded by Colonel Muir with Madajee Scindia: an event extremely fortunate, considering the precarious and doubtful state of the Company's affairs at this period.

The desultory nature of the war, which involved such a variety of interests, and which raged at the same moment in so many different quarters of the globe, necessarily produces a distracted recital; and the historian is obliged to revert from the most distant parts, by an abrupt transition, to the affairs of Europe. The inactivity of the Dutch, which was so much a matter of surprise at the time, has since been in some measure elucidated; and the general neglect which pervaded all their military and marine departments, has been attri-

buted to the treachery of certain perſons employed in high offices of truſt under the United States, who were ſecretly in league with the court of London.

As, however, this inactivity in the States afforded an excellent opportunity to Great Britain to diſtreſs and harraſs the immenſe commerce of Holland, a ſquadron was fitted out at Portſmouth, in the month of June, for this purpoſe, as well as for the protection of the Britiſh trade in the North Seas; and the command was given to a veteran admiral, Sir Hyde Parker, whoſe well-eſtabliſhed character inſpired the fulleſt confidence in his ſucceſs. The danger which impended over their commerce could not, however, be viewed without the moſt lively apprehenſions by the Dutch. They ſeemed as in an inſtant to awake from a ſtate of torpidity; and by the middle of July, a conſiderable fleet was fitted out in the Texel, under the command of Admiral Zoutman, who ſailed about that period, with a conſiderable convoy under his protection. Sir Hyde Parker was then on his return with the convoy from Elſineur. The hoſtile fleets came in ſight of each other on the Dogger Bank, in the morning of the 5th of Auguſt. The Dutch admiral had under his command ſeven ſhips of the line and ten frigates, and the Britiſh ſquadron conſiſted of only ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates, but was ſuperior in weight of metal to the Dutch fleet. Not a gun was fired on either ſide, till the ſhips were within half-muſket ſhot of each other; and the action continued with an unceaſing fire for three hours and forty minutes, till the veſſels on both ſides were ſo ſhattered, that they became unmanageable, and it was impoſſible to form a line to renew the combat. Both ſquadrons

drons lay to for a conſiderable time in this condition; at length the Dutch, with their convoy, bore away for the Texel, and Admiral Parker was in no condition to follow them. On the ſide of the Britiſh, one hundred and four were killed, and three hundred and thirty-nine wounded, and the loſs of the enemy muſt have been ſtill more conſiderable.

To the criminal neglect of the Admiralty it was undoubtedly owing, that the whole of the Dutch fleet was not captured on this occaſion; but the hoary profligate Sandwich, whoſe name muſt ever be held in execration by every man who feels the ſmalleſt reſpect for virtue or patriotiſm, was too deeply immerſed in low ſenſuality, to be capable of conducting any great deſign with ſucceſs. It is confidently aſſerted, that, at the very moment of which we are treating, a ſufficient number of ſhips to have given Sir Hyde Parker a decided ſuperiority, were lying idle in port, or waiting for orders in the Downs. The ſhips with which he was furniſhed, alſo, were not in a condition fit for ſea; and ſuch was the reſentment of the veteran admiral himſelf, at this treatment, that when his fleet was afterwards viſited by the Royal Family, in the Nore, he told his Majeſty, in the preſence of the firſt lord of the admiralty——that "he wiſhed "him younger officers, and *better* ſhips;" and begged leave to reſign, which, in a ſhort time, he afterwards did.

It was owing to the ſame inexcuſable neglect in the admiralty department, that the French fleet from Breſt, under the Count de Guichen, was permitted to form a junction with the Spaniſh fleet from Cadiz, in the latter end of July. The combined fleets, after this event, formed the irre-

ſiſtible force of forty-nine ſhips of the line, and carried with them ten thouſand land forces for the reduction of Minorca. After landing the troops, which immediately inveſted the garriſon of St. Phillip's-caſtle, the combined fleets returned with the imperious deſign of annihilating, for ever, the naval force of Britain.

So notoriouſly defective of information was the miniſtry, at this period, that no ſuſpicion was entertained of this movement, till the hoſtile fleets appeared within the Britiſh Channel; and had it not been for the accidental meeting of a neutral veſſel, which acquainted him with their approach, Admiral Darby, with his whole fleet, muſt infallibly have fallen into the hands of the enemy. He had barely time to eſcape to Torbay, where he moored his ſquadron acroſs the entrance, and waited the orders of the admiralty to regulate his conduct.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the conſternation that was ſpread through every part of Great Britain and Ireland, by this unexpected approach of the enemy. The outward-bound Weſt-India fleet was at that moment in Cork; and the whole fleet, and even that city itſelf, which contained great ſtores of proviſions, muſt have fallen an eaſy prey, had the enemy been appriſed of the circumſtances, or determined with wiſdom and activity to purſue their advantage. The commanders, however, choſe rather to waſte their time in debate and deliberation, than to purſue active meaſures. A council of war was called; and, perhaps happily for England, a timid ſyſtem was adopted, in direct oppoſition to the opinion of the commander in chief.

The Count de Guichen was for an immediate attack on the Britiſh fleet, which he aſſerted could,

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in all probability, never be again attempted under ſuch advantageous circumſtances. He was ſtrongly ſeconded by Don Vincent Doz, the third in rank of the Spaniſh commanders, who gallantly offered to command the van, and to lead on the attack in his own ſhip. A contrary opinion was ſupported by M. Bauſſel, an officer of great reputation. He contended, that all the advantages already gained by the allies, would be entirely loſt by an attack upon Admiral Darby, in his preſent ſituation, as they could not bear down upon him in a line of battle abreaſt, but muſt go down upon the enemy ſingly, by which they would run imminent riſk of being ſhattered to pieces before they could reach their reſpective ſtations. He adviſed, therefore, that they ſhould direct their whole attention to that great and attainable object, the intercepting the Engliſh homeward-bound Weſt-India fleets, which would be a blow that Britain could not recover during the war. The Spaniſh admiral and all the flag officers, except Don Vincent Doz, coincided in opinion with M. Bauſſel; and this opinion was enforced ſtrongly by the condition of the combined fleets. The ſhips were leaky and ill-appointed, and a dreadful mortality prevailed among the ſeamen. So far, therefore, from being in a condition to attack the Britiſh fleet, it is aſſerted by ſome, that if our naval miniſter had had either proper information, or a fleet ſufficiently equipped, even though much inferior in force, this immenſe armament might have been diſperſed at leaſt, if not totally demoliſhed.

Even their deſign of intercepting the homeward-bound fleet was fruſtrated by a ſingular chance. The convoy, from various cauſes, was rather later in its paſſage than was expected, and the hard

weather, which ſet in about September, obliged the hoſtile fleets to return to port as ſoon as poſſible. M. De Guichen took ſhelter in Breſt, but not without the imminent riſk of his whole fleet; and though the Spaniſh ſquadron was ſcarcely in a condition to reach its deſtined port, the etiquette of that frivolous court forbad its entrance into a French harbour.

After M. de Guichen's return to Breſt, no time was loſt in fitting out his ſquadron for a ſecond cruize. In the beginning of December he again ſailed from that port, with nineteen ſhips of the line, and a conſiderable convoy of merchant ſhips and tranſports, with different deſtinations. As theſe preparations were not unknown in England, Admiral Kempenfelt was diſpatched to intercept them; but he had no more than twelve ſail of the line, and was unſupported by a ſufficient number of frigates for the ſervice on which he was diſpatched. What is ſtill more extraordinary, the Engliſh admiral appears to have been kept in actual ignorance of the force which he was to encounter, though that was a circumſtance which could not be unknown to adminiſtration. On the twelfth the Britiſh admiral had the fortune to encounter the enemy in a hard gale of wind, when both fleet and convoy were conſiderably diſperſed. With that profeſſional ſkill by which he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed, he availed himſelf of the ſituation, by endeavouring firſt to cut off the convoy, and join battle with the enemy after. The deſign in part ſucceeded, and twenty of the convoy were taken, chiefly tranſports, laden with military ſtores, and with eleven hundred land forces on board; but when Admiral Kempenfelt drew up in line of battle, to face the enemy, he ſaw his inferiority,

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and was obliged to retreat. The diſcontent of the public was moſt juſtly excited by the groſs neglect of the Admiralty, which loſt ſo favourable an opportunity of regaining the honour and the naval conſequence which Britain had loſt. All the ſucceſs that attended the enterpriſe was juſtly attributed to the ability of the commander; and the failure was laid entirely to the charge of adminiſtration.

While the public mind was ſtill impreſſed with the ſtrong ſenſe of this repeated miſmanagement, and exaſperated and diſheartened by the diſcouraging news of the capture of Lord Cornwallis, the parliamentary ſeſſion commenced on the 27th of November. It was with ſome degree of ſurpriſe, and with ſtrong emotions of regret, that the thinking part of the community obſerved the ſpeech from the throne to hold the ſame determined language, with which parliament had been laſt diſmiſſed. It was diſcloſed to be the intention of miniſtry to perſevere in the war, which was ſtill aſcribed entirely to the reſtleſs ambition of our enemies; and the ſpeech concluded with holding forth golden dreams, with congratulations on the arrival of our commercial fleets, and on the proſperous aſpect of affairs in the Eaſt Indies.

The motion for an addreſs was combated in the houſe of commons with ſingular vigour and ability; and the uncommon talents of Mr. Fox ſeemed, for once, to make ſome impreſſion even on his adverſaries. The alarming declaration contained in the ſpeech from the throne, of the intentions of government to purſue the ruinous American war to the laſt extremity; and the inſidious attempt, by a motion for an addreſs, to pledge the Houſe to the unqualified ſupport of ſo frantic a

meaſure, was cenſured in the ſtrongeſt language.

Mr. Fox obſerved, "that he had expected, and "others had expected, very different language "from adminiſtration. He had expected to have "heard his Majeſty declare from the throne, that "he had been impoſed upon by miſinformation "and miſrepreſentation. He ſaw that he had been "in an error, and he and his people had ſuffered "enough from it; and therefore that he requeſted "of his parliament to deviſe the moſt ſpeedy and "direct means of putting an end to the public "calamities, and reſtoring peace and happineſs "to his dominions. When ſuch was the expec-"tation of a conſiderable portion of the people, "how great muſt be their diſappointment, to find the "ſentiments of miniſtry ſo entirely hoſtile to their "intereſts and their wiſhes! The ſpeech, upon a "fair conſtruction, might be underſtood to convey "this meaning. Our loſſes have been ſingularly "calamitous. The blood of my ſubjects has "flowed in copious and unavailing ſtreams; the "treaſures of the country have been thrown away; "and the weight of taxes impoſed with a heavy "hand upon an overburdened and ſinking people: "yet I will tax you to the laſt ſhilling, when all "hope of victory is fled for ever, and the opera-"tions of the war muſt accelerate the ruin of the "empire. I will forbid you to think of peace; "for my thirſt of conqueſt is not quenched, my "revenge is unſated." Mr. Fox added, that the time muſt ſurely arrive, when an oppreſſed and irritated people would firmly call for puniſhment on thoſe whoſe counſels had brought the nation ſo near the brink of deſtruction; and concluded with moving an amendment to the addreſs, which being in more general terms, he apprehended, would

would leave the expediency of continuing the war more open to future debate, and not pledge the Houſe to any ſpecific meaſures.

The addreſs was ſupported by the miniſter, in his uſual ſtrain. He defended the war in the old jargon, characteriſing it as a war for the maintenance of the rights and privileges of parliament; and aſſerted, that the addreſs did not pledge the Houſe to any ſpecific determination with reſpect to the proſecution of the war.

Mr. Fox's amendment was negatived by two hundred and eighteen votes againſt one hundred and twenty-nine.

In the Upper Houſe a ſimilar chain of argument was purſued by Oppoſition. The Duke of Richmond was moſt pointedly ſevere againſt adminiſtration. He objected particularly to the clauſe in the ſpeech and the addreſs, which attributed the war "to the reſtleſs ambition of our enemies." He ſaid the miniſtry alone were the authors of the war, and of all its calamities. He reprobated the abominable diſtinction which miniſters laboured to eſtabliſh, in ſtyling themſelves and their adherents the King's friends: he aſſerted that ſcarcely a *ſeventh* part of the people were repreſented; and that the kingdom was governed by clerks. The *interior cabinet*, he added, had been the ruin of the country; and the late Earl of Chatham had publicly declared in that houſe, that he had been duped and deceived; and that he had not been ten days in the cabinet, before he felt the ground rotten under his feet. The Earl of Shelburne, alſo, ſpoke with great force and eloquence againſt the continuance of the war, and propoſed an amendment to the addreſs, ſimilar to that which was moved in the Commons, but which was negatived, alſo, by a great majority.

It was late in the debate before any of the miniſtry roſe to defend the meaſures of government; but as Lord Stormont, the ſecretary of ſtate, declared more explicitly than any of his colleagues had done in favour of the proſecution of the American war, it was thought proper by the leading members of Oppoſition, on receiving the report in the houſe of commons, to renew the debate as far as reſpected the pledge that was ſuppoſed to be conveyed by the addreſs for the further proſecution of the American war.

The eloquence of Mr. Pitt, on this occaſion, did not diſappoint the very ſanguine expectations which had been formed from his ſpirited efforts in the preceding ſeſſion. The addreſs then at the bar, he ſaid, was conceived in terms the moſt hypocritical and deluſive; and if ſuffered in a criſis ſo melancholy and alarming as the preſent to be publiſhed to the world as the real ſentiments of the houſe of commons, it would be an additional misfortune, greater than any that had preceded: it would deceive the king, proſtitute the judgment of parliament, and inſult the people. In the better days of parliament, the attempt to *entrap the Houſe* into a countenance of aſſertions, wholly unexplained and unexamined, on *the mere authority of a miniſter*, would have been treated with the indignation and ſeverity it deſerved. It had, indeed, been pretended, by thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to carry on the deceit, that the proſecution of the American war was not the import of the addreſs; but let any man read the addreſs for himſelf, and judge. The fact, he ſaid, was, the war was an appendage to the firſt lord of the treaſury, too dear to be parted with: it was the grand pillar, raiſed on the ruins of the conſtitution, by which he held his ſituation.

Mr.

Mr. Burke was alſo extremely ſevere on the meaſures of adminiſtration. He characteriſed the addreſs as altogether "a cheat and a deluſion." He ſaid the miniſter dealt only in deluſions; they were the daily traffic of his invention:—he practiſed cheats upon the Houſe, which died away even before the debate was ended, to favour which they were contrived. In deſcanting on Lord Cornwallis's capitulation, he enlarged on the cruelty of ſurrendering the unhappy loyaliſts to the wild reſentment of their exaſperated countrymen. In that ſtrain of eloquence for which he is ſo much diſtinguiſhed, he drew an affecting picture of the headlands of the Cheſapeak, exhibiting the parched quarters of the King's friends, and aſked whether the ſight was not a glorious one to meet the eyes of a prince of the blood-royal on his firſt arrival in America? By fire and ſword, he obſerved, we had forced the Americans to join the King's troops; and now thoſe very men, whom we had compelled into our ſervice, were to be executed as rebels. He concluded by remarking the ſingular coincidence, that the Colonel Laurens, who had drawn up the articles of capitulation, and in whoſe cuſtody Lord Cornwallis then was, as a priſoner, was the ſon of that Mr. Lawrens, late preſident of Congreſs, who had been committed a cloſe priſoner to the Tower, of which fortreſs Lord Cornwallis was governor—a circumſtance, he ſaid, which a ſerious mind, without being extremely addicted to ſuperſtition, might be well diſpoſed to conſider as the ſpecial interpoſition of Divine Providence.

The addreſs was feebly, but verboſely defended by Mr. Dundas, the lord advocate of Scotland, who denied, in general terms, that it pledged the

Houſe

Houſe to a continuance of the war; and ſupported by that majority, which ſtill remained at the miniſter's diſpoſal, it was ultimately carried.

A motion which had been made by Mr. Burke, in the courſe of the preceding ſeſſion, for an inquiry into the circumſtances attending the capture of the iſland of St. Euſtatius, having been rejected in the laſt ſeſſion, on the plea, that the two commanders were then abſent: on the 4th of December, as that plea was removed by the return of both theſe gentlemen, Mr. Burke renewed his application to the wiſdom and juſtice of the Britiſh parliament, and moved that the Houſe reſolve itſelf into a committee, in order to inquire into the confiſcation of the effects belonging to his Majeſty's new ſubjects on the iſland of St. Euſtatius; and farther to enquire into the ſale, diſtribution and mode of conveyance of a great part of them to the iſlands belonging to France, and to other parts of the dominions of his Majeſty's enemies.

Mr. Burke began by obſerving, that very diſgraceful imputations had been thrown upon this country, on account of the tranſactions to which he alluded. Abject thefts, atrocious rapine, and every ſpecies of uncivilſed barbarity, had been charged, in the face of all Europe, upon Britiſh commanders. After this, Mr. Burke proceeded, in terms beautifully pathetic, to ſtate the facts:—he deſcribed the ſtate of the iſland, where a ſingle gun, of which the friendly and courteous uſe was to ſalute the ſhips of the Engliſh, and other European powers, on their arrival at this free port, and a garriſon of twenty-ſeven ſoldiers, conſtituted the ſole defence againſt an armament of fifteen ſail of the line, and three thouſand choſen troops.

"On

"On this occaſion," ſaid the orator, "the miracle "of Jericho was needleſs; for, at the firſt ſound "of the trumpet, and long before the ramparts "could have fallen, the governor ſurrendered the "iſland at diſcretion."

Mr. Burke very ably explained the law of nations, with reſpect to the conſtruction to be put upon the term ſurrendering at *diſcretion*; and ſhewed, both from authority and practice, that all perſons ſurrendering upon theſe terms were, from the moment of their ſurrrender, entitled to the protection of ſubjects. But, on the contrary, our commanders interpreted the word *diſcretion*, to mean *deſtruction*; for they did not leave the conquered a ſingle ſhilling. The warehouſes of the merchants and traders were locked up; their books taken from them; even their proviſions withheld; and every inhabitant was to give an account even of his plate, jewels, and ready money. The next meaſure was a general proſcription of the inhabitants. The Dutch were baniſhed, becauſe they were Dutch; the Americans, becauſe they were the King's enemies; and the Jews, probably, becauſe their religion was different from that of their conquerors.

He next animadverted on the very ſingular circumſtances of the ſale. A proclamation was iſſued, offering free ingreſs and regreſs to every purchaſer, with ſecurity for all his tranſactions. Seventeen veſſels, principally French, were accordingly freighted with ſtores and other articles, purchaſed fifty per cent. under the intrinſic value, for the ſervice of our enemies; and leſt they ſhould become captures to the Britiſh privateers, they ſailed under the convoy of an Engliſh ſhip of of war.

Three

Three months, Mr. Burke added, were ſpent by the Britiſh commanders, in diſpoſing of and ſecuring the plunder of St. Euſtatius. By this conduct, he alledged, the opportunity was loſt (while we had a ſuperiority in thoſe ſeas of twelve ſhips of the line) of recovering ſome of our former poſſeſſions, or attacking thoſe of the enemy: by this conduct, the French and Spaniſh fleets were enabled to form a junction; and the conſequences were, the loſs of Tobago, and finally the dreadful diſaſter in the Cheſapeak.

Sir George Rodney reſted his defence on the aſſertion, that he had made the ſeizure and confiſcation of the property avowedly for the ſole uſe and excluſive benefit of the crown, and was not, at the time, acquainted with his Majeſty's gracious intentions of relinquiſhing his right in favour of the fleet and army. Both the admiral and the general denied the charge of the ſtores having been ſold to the enemies of Great Britain; and they affirmed, that while they were charged with remaining inactive for three months, they were really *planning* expeditions againſt Curacoa and Surinam. However unſatisfactory this defence might appear to the gentlemen in oppoſition, the miniſterial majority was ſo well ſatisfied with it, that Mr. Burke's motion was rejected by a majority of one hundred and ſixty-three againſt eighty-nine.

However the miniſter might flatter himſelf as to his ſucceſs on the general election, ſtill the oppoſition party had been the actual gainers in that conteſt. They had brought in an immenſe number of their ſtaunchеſt friends; and from the new members who had been introduced, they found

found daily deſerters to their ſtandard. Encouraged by their viſibly increaſing influence, they began to aſſume a bolder tone than they had hitherto employed; even the motion for a committee of ſupply was ſtrenuouſly reſiſted; and Mr. Thomas Pitt, and a number of the moſt reſpectable members declared their determination of withſtanding every vote for ſupplies to the crown, while the preſent miniſters, who had diſgraced and almoſt ruined the nation, continued to occupy their ſeats.

On the miniſterial ſide, it was repreſented as the revival of an *obſolete* meaſure to cramp the exertions of the executive power, by withholding the ſupplies; that ſuch a meaſure was replete with ruin to the nation; and it had always been conſidered in ſo formidable a light, that not one inſtance had occurred, ſince the Revolution, of the the exerciſe of this right in the houſe of commons.

In anſwer to theſe aſſertions, it was proved by Mr. Fox, Mr. F. Montague, and others, that when the miſconduct of miniſters was ſuch as to endanger the ſafety of the nation, the true conſtitutional mode of coercion was to withhold the ſupplies; that to forego this right, was to betray their truſt, and to ſurrender the whole legiſlative privileges of the nation into the hands of a corrupt adminiſtration; and if no inſtance had occurred, ſince the Revolution, of the exerciſe of this right, it was only becauſe no circumſtance had preſented itſelf to render it neceſſary; becauſe no adminiſtration had ever been found ſo perſevering as the preſent, in a weak and pernicious ſyſtem of conduct. On this occaſion, however, the miniſter

ſtill

ſtill continued to triumph, and carried the motion for a committee of ſupply, by a majority of ninety-five.

Not diſcouraged by theſe defeats, while they were conſcious that the majority of the nation were in their favour, and that, even in parliament, the adherents of miniſtry were gradually melting away, the minority on the 12th of December, renewed their oppoſition to the American war, under the form of a ſpecific motion.

As the object of this meaſure was to form a coalition of all parties to compel the court to relinquiſh this ruinous and impracticable ſyſtem, the motion was worded in very cautious and general terms;—it went no farther than to declare, that the war had hitherto been ineffectual to the purpoſes for which it was undertaken; and that all further attempts to reduce the Americans by force, would be injurious to the intereſts of the country.

Two of the leading men among the landed intereſt, Sir James Lowther and Mr. Powis, were appointed to introduce the motion. Early in the debate, Lord North roſe to make a declaration, that it was no longer in the contemplation of miniſters to proſecute the war internally in America, but that the whole form and conduct of it was to undergo a total change. After this declaration, he ſtated various arguments againſt the motion, ſuch as the impolicy of pointing out to the enemy, what was to be the future ſyſtem of the war; the reluctance of the miniſtry to evacuate New York, Charleſtown, &c. In theſe objections he was ſupported by Mr. Welbore Ellis, and Lord George Germaine, the latter of whom, with more manlineſs than Lord North, declared his intention

intention to retire from his official ſituation, whenever the American war was to be abandoned.

Whoever candidly compares this declaration of the prime miniſter, with the pompous boaſts which he made at the commencement of this impolitic and abſurd war, and conſiders the millions that had been expended, and the blood which had been ſhed in the fruitleſs proſecution of it, will be at a loſs which moſt to wonder at, the meanneſs, effrontery, and total inſenſibility of the man, who could wiſh to retain his office after ſuch a failure of all his promiſes, or the patience and ſupineneſs of the people, who could ſtill refrain from demanding juſtice on the head of ſo atrocious an offender. When miniſters ceaſe to be reſponſible, where are the liberties of a nation!

The objections of the miniſter were very ably replied to:—the firſt, namely, that the reſolution to abandon the American war, would be a means of diſcovering to the enemy, againſt what quarter of their extenſive dominions, vulnerable in a thouſand parts, the next blow would be aimed, was deſervedly ridiculed, and was held to be unworthy of a ſerious anſwer. The reluctance of miniſters to evacuate the poſts on the American coaſts, was conſidered in a more ſerious view, and was regarded as a certain indication that the war was ſtill to be proſecuted under every diſadvantage. As to the declaration of the miniſter, it was aſked, whether, from his former conduct, any man in his ſenſes could place the leaſt dependance upon it?

On the vote of this day, the miniſter experienced a defection of about twenty of thoſe members who uſually divided with him, as Sir James Lowther's motion was rejected by only a majority of forty.

In the debates on the naval ſupplies for the current year, unexampled neglects, abuſes, and miſconduct, were proved to have exiſted in the admiralty department. Notwithſtanding the immenſe ſupplies granted laviſhly by parliament for that ſervice, it was aſſerted that our navy was in a more reſpectable ſtate in the year 1770, in a time of peace, and with a very limited allowance from parliament, than at the preſent period. By the new mode of building ſhips, it appeared, that they were ſuffered to lie in their cradles till all the timbers were rotten; and one ſhip had been actually ſent into dock to repair, four times in the courſe of the year; old veſſels which had been declared unequal to any length of ſervice, were actually ſent out, diſguiſed under new names, on dangerous and diſtant enterpriſes; and while there was this deplorable deficiency of ſhipping, the admiralty neglected to employ the public docks in building to the extent of which they were capable, and had rejected advantageous offers from private builders.

The ſubject was renewed on the 20th of December, when the uſual motion being made for an adjournment, Oppoſition inſiſted on an inquiry into the late groſs and inexcuſable neglect ſhewn by the firſt lord of the admiralty in the affair of Admiral Kempenfelt. Mr. Fox declared he knew not how to conſider it in any other light than as a premeditated neglect, as actual treachery; and added that the prime miniſter would be an accomplice in the guilt of the firſt lord of the admiralty, if he reſiſted the inquiry.

The defence which was advanced by adminiſtration on this occaſion was calculated, not to excite merely contempt, but even riſibility. It was ſaid that government had been diſcouraged

from contracting with private builders, by the exorbitant demands of a ſingle builder, Mr. Wills, to whom they had applied; and that their exertions in the dock-yard were prevented by the apprehenſions which John the Painter had created, and by another American ſpy, of the name of Lee, who had diſtributed money among the workmen. The parliament was adjourned to the 21ſt of January.

While ſuch were the tranſactions within the walls of parliament, the diſſatisfaction of the people appeared in ſeveral petitions and remonſtrances which were preſented againſt the war. The city of London, on this occaſion, led the way in a very ſtrong remonſtrance, which was preſented on the 18th of December, in which the Livery of London deplore "the intention," manifeſted in his Majeſty's ſpeech, "of perſevering in a ſyſtem "of meaſures, which has proved ſo diſaſtrous "to this country."—In ſo critical and awful a moment, they profeſs, "that to flatter is to "betray; that his Majeſty's miniſters have, "by falſe aſſertions, and fallacious ſuggeſtions, "deluded his majeſty and this nation into the "preſent unnatural and unfortunate war." They proceed in the following animated terms:—

"Your Majeſty's fleets have loſt their wonted "ſuperiority:

"Your armies have been captured:

"Your dominions have been loſt:

"And your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects have "been loaded with a burthen of taxes, which, "even if our victories had been as ſplendid, as "our defeats have been diſgraceful; if our acceſ-"ſion of dominions had been as fortunate, as the "diſmemberment of the empire has been cruel

" and diſaſtrous, could not in itſelf be conſidered, " but as a great and grievous calamity."

The addreſs concluded with exhorting his Majeſty, " no longer to continue in a deluſion, " from which the nation had awakened," and with imploring that he would " diſmiſs from his " preſence and councils all the adviſers, both " public and *ſecret*," of theſe deſtructive meaſures.

The example of the city of London was immediately followed by that of Weſtminſter, and by ſome other places; and, before the meeting of parliament, every thing portended the ſpeedy diſſolution of the miniſtry.

The conduct of the leading perſonages in the Iriſh parliament afforded, at this criſis, a very ſtriking example of political ſagacity. Sufficiently aware, that what they conſidered as an infringement on their civil and commercial rights, and particularly thoſe reſtrictions which had been impoſed by Poyning's law, were only to be maintained by military coercion, they ſaw with ſecret ſatisfaction the numerous embarkations of troops, which, in the frenzy of miniſters, were ordered for America, from the military eſtabliſhment of Ireland. When the Britiſh miniſtry propoſed to replace theſe troops by an equal number of foreigners, the offer was wiſely declined. Every circumſtance contributed to favour the deep-laid ſcheme of the Iriſh patriots. Upon the rupture with France, a bold and patriotic ſpirit, which arrogated to the people themſelves the generous taſk of defending the country againſt foreign invaſion, ſeemed to pervade the whole nation. The ſhallow miniſtry of Great Britain miſtook the movement for an effuſion of loyalty, and gloried in their own wiſdom, not leſs than their popularity. As if from the ſudden and miraculous

miraculous effect of a magical incantation, armed multitudes ſprung up in every county; and a volunteer army of fifty thouſand men, equipped and clothed at their own expence, with officers choſen by themſelves, were embodied in the ſpace of a few months. It was not till their reſolutions began to indicate a ſpirit of freedom, the ſound of which was harſh and grating to the ears of miniſtry, that theſe incapable counſellors of royalty perceived they had been duped. When it was too late, they ſaw their error, and made a faint and abortive effort to ſeduce the batallions of freedom under military law. The attempt only ſerved to haſten the operations of the volunteers. The patriots no longer acted under a cloud; county meetings were held in different parts, and delegations repreſenting the different corps of volunteers were choſen, and a correſpondence eſtabliſhed between the different bodies. The reſolutions of the delegations were made with authority, and were ecchoed by the whole kingdom. Their own parliament, though it had been for ages at the diſpoſal of the court, did not preſume to oppoſe. A free trade was their firſt demand; and this, in the latter end of 1779, was conceded reluctantly, and with an ill grace, by the miniſter, who had employed every inſidious means to prevent its accompliſhment.

The miniſter flattered himſelf, that, by retreating in time from the outworks, he had ſecured the citadel, and that the grand point, the controuling power of the Engliſh parliament, was ſtill beyond the reach of Iriſh patriotiſm: but that nation had too much ſpirit, too much good ſenſe, and too much unanimity, to be ſo eaſily impoſed upon. The perpetual Mutiny Act, which wreſted out of

the hands of parliament, the proper and neceſſary controul over the military, was univerſally exclaimed againſt, as inconſiſtent with liberty, and as involving in it evils of the greateſt magnitude: on the 13th of November 1781, therefore, that true and enlightened patriot, Mr. Grattan, moved in the houſe of commons for leave to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and limit the Mutiny act. This motion was generally conſidered as a kind of touchſtone of the temper and patriotiſm of the parliament; but Lord North had not been inattentive to this point. The only excellence, if ſuch it can be called, which he poſſeſſed as a ſtateſman, lay in what is termed by corrupt courtiers the *management* of the houſe of commons. In this lay the grand ſecret of his government, and his exertions in Ireland, upon this occaſion, were not unſucceſsful; for Mr. Grattan's motion was rejected by a great majority.

Such was the ſtate of things in the ſiſter kingdoms at the adjournment of parliament, in 1781. The firſt buſineſs after the receſs, which engaged the attention of the legiſlative body, was the long meditated inquiry into the conduct of the firſt lord of the admiralty. The accuſation was
1782 opened on the 23d of January, 1782, with great addreſs and ability, by Mr. Fox; and the culprit was defended by Captain John Luttrel, Lord Mulgrave, and Lord North. After ſome altercation, however, it was agreed, that the inquiry ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole Houſe, on the following Thurſday; and this was followed by reſolutions for certain papers, which were neceſſary to ſubſtantiate the criminal charges.

The committee of inquiry having been, from various

various cauſes, delayed to the 7th of February, Mr. Fox on that day roſe to move a reſolution of cenſure, founded on facts, contained in the papers which were laid in evidence before the Houſe. In the courſe of the inquiry it appeared that in the year 1777, when the deſigns of the French were apparent to the whole nation, the admiralty was totally unprepared for the rupture, and the moſt criminal neglect pervaded the whole department. In that year every frigate we poſſeſſed was ſent to carry on a predatory war on the coaſts of America, while the line-of-battle ſhips and two-deckers were employed during the winter, cruizing in the Channel; ſo that when Admiral Keppel arrived at Portſmouth, in the following ſpring, to take the command of a fleet of twenty-ſix ſhips of the line, he found only ſix fit for ſervice.

It further appeared, that the admiralty were in poſſeſſion of the intelligence reſpecting the equipment of M. D'Eſtaign's fleet at Toulon, and of its deſtination for America, for ſeveral months before that fleet was ready to ſail, and yet no attempt was made to diſpute its paſſage out of the Mediterranean; but Admiral Byron was as uſual ſent out to follow it to the coaſt of America; and that they had, at the ſame time, omitted to appriſe Lord Howe of the danger to which he might be expoſed.

The ſame neglect was evident in the lords of the admiralty not ordering Sir Charles Hardy to prevent the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets, in 1779; and, towards the cloſe of that year, Admiral Rodney might have been diſpatched in time to intercept the ſailing of the Breſt ſquadron under M. de Guichen. In the year 1780, inſtructions

were indeed given to admiral Geary, to prevent the junction of the allied fleets; but ſuch were the active efforts of Lord Sandwich, ſuch his eager vigilance and indefatigable attention to the intereſts of his country, that theſe inſtructions did not reach the Britiſh commander till the fleets had actually joined.

If any thing could exceed theſe inſtances of baſe and criminal miſconduct, it was the permitting the Chevalier de Ternay to ſail unmoleſted with his ſquadron, when he tranſported to America the numerous forces which had ſince captured the army of Lord Cornwallis; and at the ſame diſgraceful period Captain Mourray, with the valuable Eaſt and Weſt India convoys, was *betrayed*, Mr. Fox ſaid, into the hands of the enemy: and he added, that if the noble Earl had been in the pay of the Houſe of Bourbon, he could not have acted with greater zeal and ability in their ſervice.

Having thus brought down the hiſtory of our naval tranſactions to the year 1781, Mr. Fox confined the remainder of his accuſation to five diſtinct capital charges. The firſt was, ſuffering M. de Graſſe to ſail for the Weſt Indies, without making a ſingle effort to intercept him—though the admiralty had the minuteſt information of the equipment and ſtate of this expedition; though it was known to be of the moſt dangerous nature to this country; and though we had, at the time, a force at ſea more than equal to the deſtruction of M. de Graſſe and his fleet. The ſecond reſpected the loſs of the St. Euſtatius convoy. M. de la Motte Piquet, who took it, was known to be on the point of ſailing from Breſt, and Admiral Darby was cruizing with a much ſuperior fleet off the coaſt of Ireland. Orders were ſent to Admiral Darby,

Darby to detach eight ſail for the protection of the St. Euſtatius fleet, which orders he received about *three weeks* after it was taken.

The third charge was a wilful and corrupt *falſehood*. A report having been received at Briſtol that the combined fleets were in the Channel, at the time Admiral Darby was driven by them into Torbay, the mayor requeſted, by a letter to the admiralty, to know the truth of the report, when the ſecretary, by the orders of the board, wrote a letter to the mayor, aſſuring him "that the whole was without foundation, and "that Admiral Darby had put into Torbay, for "the purpoſe of taking on board refreſhments."

The fourth related to the conduct of the admiralty towards the Dutch. While they were only *inſidious friends*, as the Miniſter termed them, we had ſent *ſix* ſhips of the line to intercept *one*; but ſince they were become *open enemies*, we had ſent five ſhips to fight eight. The fifth and laſt charge reſpected the recent failure of Admiral Kempenfelt: it appeared that the admiralty were perfectly informed of the ſtrength and every circumſtance relative to the enemy's fleet; and yet, twelve ſhips only were diſpatched to intercept eighteen, while at leaſt twenty ſhips were kept unemployed, for what corrupt purpoſe could ſcarcely be conjectured.

Never were charges better founded, or more ſatisfactorily proved, than thoſe againſt the firſt lord of the admiralty: they were confirmed by Lord Howe and all the great naval officers preſent, who inveighed not only againſt the corrupt adminiſtration, but againſt the ſhameful prodigality, and laviſh expenditure, in that department. Lord Sandwich was feebly defended by his friend Lord Mulgrave; but ſo notorious was his delinquency,

that though the whole formidable mass of miniſterial influence was exerted againſt the vote of cenſure, it was negatived in a very full houſe by a majority of only twenty-two.

While theſe affairs were in agitation in the Commons, the Duke of Richmond moved for an addreſs to his Majeſty for ſeveral papers relative to the execution of Colonel Hayne.—As ſo copious an account of that affair has been already preſented to the reader, it will be unneceſſary to enlarge at preſent on the ſubject. The chief objection ſtated by the Duke was, that Colonel Hayne was executed without a trial; and the illegality, the barbarity, and the impolicy of the proceeding, were ſtrongly and powerfully urged by his Grace. He was oppoſed by the Lords Walſingham and Stormont, and the Lord Chancellor. The grounds on which they defended this proceeding was, that Colonel Hayne being taken in arms, after admiſſion to his parole, was liable to be executed immediately as a ſpy. The Duke of Richmond was very ably ſupported by the Earls of Shelburne and Effingham, who contended on the other hand, from the moſt reſpectable authorities, that a milder puniſhment was always inflicted on a ſimple breach of parole; ſuch as a ſtricter degree of confinement, &c. On the queſtion there appeared, for the addreſs twenty-five, and againſt it ſeventy-three.

The freedom with which the Duke of Richmond animadverted on this tranſaction, was the means of involving him in a very diſagreeable altercation; for Lord Rawdon, who was juſt returned from America, conceiving his honour affected by the diſcuſſion, immediately addreſſed a letter to his Grace, in ſuch very high and aſſuming language, that it amounted to little leſs than a challenge.

challenge. After ſeveral meſſages paſſing between them, the Duke, at length, condeſcended to make a declaration in his place, that he meant no perſonal reflection againſt the Noble Lord in what he had ſaid relative to the execution of Colonel Hayne.

On this tranſaction but little is to be advanced. A challenge can never vindicate the innocence of any man; and if Lord Rawdon felt conſcious that his reputation was clear of every ſtain, by publiſhing a fair ſtatement of the fact, he would have ſufficiently juſtified himſelf in the eyes of the public. On the contrary, the Duke of Richmond, though under no neceſſity of expoſing himſelf to a ruffian outrage (for every man who takes this illegal mode of explanation, is guilty of outrage), ought not to have retracted, but ſhould have rather proſecuted the inquiry, which was, in reality, after all, the moſt proper and effectual mode of doing complete juſtice to the character of Lord Rawdon. The freedom of ſpeech in parliament is one of the great bulwarks of Britiſh liberty; and if the members of either houſe are to be intimidated from their duty, by challenges from their adverſaries, there is at once an end of liberty and the conſtitution.

The firſt happy omen for the country of the mouldering ſtate of the miniſtry, was the retreat from office of the American Secretary, and his taking ſhelter in what Lord Cheſterfield has emphatically termed "The Hoſpital of Incurables." On Lord George Germaine being called to the houſe of peers, under the title of Lord Viſcount Sackville, a motion was made by the Marquis of Carmarthen (ſince Duke of Leeds), intimating, that it was derogatory to the honour of the houſe, that any perſon, labouring under the heavy cenſure

ſure of a court-martial, ſhould be recommended by the crown, as a proper perſon to be raiſed to the dignity of the peerage. The motion was rejected on the plea, that it was an interference with the prerogatives of the crown: but it was again renewed on the 18th of February, when Lord Sackville took his ſeat in the houſe. On this occaſion, the Noble Lord addreſſed the houſe in a very pathetic ſpeech; complained of the ſeverity of the ſentence of the court-martial, and obſerved, that ſuch a proceeding as was now attempted, would render the military law, which was already, in the opinion of the world, ſufficiently ſevere, ſtill more harſh and oppreſſive.

In ſupport of Lord Carmarthen's motion, and in anſwer to what was alledged concerning its interference with the royal prerogative, the Duke of Richmond adverted to ſome of the ancient patents of peerages, to prove, that originally, and even to the time of Henry VII. it was expreſsly ſtated, in every *new* patent of the creation of a peer, that ſuch creation was made *with conſent of parliament*. He afterwards mentioned the circumſtances of the action which produced the ſentence of the court-martial; an action in which his Grace was perſonally preſent. He appealed to the Earl of Southampton, who carried the orders from Prince Ferdinand to Lord Sackville, whether the orders were contradictory. The firſt order was that "the cavalry ſhould advance;" the ſecond order, that "the Britiſh cavalry ſhould advance;" and in either ſenſe, it was obvious, that it was the duty of the Noble Lord to advance. He ſaid, that the time loſt by the Noble Lord, under pretence that receiving ſuch contradictory orders, it was impoſſible for him to diſcover whether the

he ſhould advance with the *whole*, or only with the *Britiſh* cavalry, was "one hour and a half;" and as the diſtance from the ſcene of action was one mile and a quarter, if the Noble Lord had obeyed his orders, he would have rendered the victory brilliant and deciſive.

The Duke remarked farther, that the Noble Lord had little claim to promotion on account of his ſervices as American ſecretary. He had, indeed, accepted of that office at a time when, perhaps, no perſon living but himſelf, could have ſubmitted to the pain and diſgrace of filling it; and, as he had not proſpered in his endeavours, and had ſecured no one advantage to the public, but had left them in a ſituation ſtill more ignominious and unfortunate than that in which he found them, he could not make the ſlighteſt claim upon his country for either thanks or approbation.

The Earls of Shelburne and Derby, and the Marquis of Rockingham, ſpoke on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, and were oppoſed by Lord Walſingham, the Earl of Denbigh, and the Lord Chancellor. On a diviſion there appeared, for the motion twenty-eight, and againſt it ninety-three.

An additional clauſe being added by the Secretary at War to the annual Mutiny bill, which inflicted the puniſhment of death upon any perſon who ſhould deſert to the enemy, or fly in the day of battle, or ſhamefully ſurrender their military truſt, &c. it drew from Mr. Burke ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the promotion of General Arnold. He obſerved, that the clauſe which the Secretary at War was ſo anxious to inſert, would ſcarcely operate as an incentive to this extraordinary convert to perſevere in the diſcharge of duties, which had but little except novelty to recommend them.

Mr.

Mr. Arnold had accepted a command from thoſe who were called rebels, and had received from them his pay; and had proved faithleſs to the truſt repoſed in him. Could it be ſeriouſly believed that ſuch a perſon merited a grain of confidence, or would be wrought upon by any laws whatever to ſerve, with ſtrict fidelity, the people and the ſovereign againſt whom he was before in arms? A promotion of conſequence had been beſtowed upon this man, whoſe conduct had been marked by glaring ſtrokes of perfidy and cruelty; but with the ſame prodigal hand, with which military honours were ſcattered without diſtinction, Mr. Burke added, civil dignities and preferments were beſtowed on men more conſpicuous for their good fortune than their merits.

Mr. Fox alſo made ſome forcible obſervations on this extraordinary promotion. He ſaid, while ſuch officers as General Arnold were employed, the amendment propoſed by the Secretary at War might be extremely neceſſary. As Mr. Arnold, in the character of an American officer, had treacherouſly abandoned the command with which he was entruſted, and as he was now rewarded with an active military promotion, he might not improbably proceed hereafter to ſimilar tranſgreſſions, and ſacrifice our own troops for lucre to the enemy. Hence might originate the propoſed amendment to the mutiny bill; unleſs, perhaps, it took its riſe from a recollection of the battle of Minden, and the circumſtances which attended a late advancement to a ſeat in the firſt aſſembly of the legiſlature.

While the miniſtry were thus preſſed on every ſide, with the voice of the nation evidently againſt them, and with ſo many crimes and errors, which it was impoſſible to palliate, ſome fruitleſs efforts were

were made to maintain themſelves in power; the moſt remarkable of which is, a negociation which is ſaid to have been opened at this period with the party of the Earl of Shelburne. A confidential clerk of Mr. Jenkinſon is ſaid to have called on Colonel Barré, to know, whether he would receive a viſit from the Secretary at War upon buſineſs of public importance. The object of the Secretary's viſit, was an overture for a coalition of parties. As to the diſtribution of offices, he ſaid Lord Shelburne muſt make his own propoſals; but the cabinet had no objection to his being ſecretary of ſtate. It was propoſed alſo, in the courſe of the negociation, that Lord Camden ſhould be made preſident of the council, Mr. Dunning lord chief-juſtice of the common pleas, and Colonel Barré vice-treaſurer of Ireland, with ſome inferior arrangements. The propoſal having been communicated to one of the principals in the buſineſs, he is ſaid to have remarked, "That its coming from Mr. "Jenkinſon too clearly manifeſted, that it ought "not to be liſtened to, ſince it was evident, that "the adminiſtration was, and would be, governed "by Lord Bute and his ſecretary." The negociation, on what account we are not informed, was never brought to a concluſion; and, in the mean time, as the appointment of Mr. Welbore Ellis to the office of ſecretary for the American department, in the room of Lord Sackville, and of Sir Guy Carleton to that of commander in chief in North America, occaſioned an alarm among thoſe who were perſuaded, that there ſtill exiſted a ſecret and obſtinate attachment in the court to the proſecution of the war againſt the colonies, another attempt was reſolved to be made in the commons, to bind the hands of the executive

tive government, by the ſtrong and explicit declaration of parliament.

With this view, on the 22d of February, a motion was made by General Conway, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented, imploring his Majeſty, that the war might be no longer purſued for the impracticable purpoſe of reducing the people of America by force. The motion was ſeconded by Lord John Cavendiſh, and was oppoſed by Mr. Welbore Ellis, the new ſecretary, who aſſerted, that there were numbers in America ſtill attached to our cauſe; that a conſiderable portion of the inhabitants regarded, with abhorrence, the oppreſſive tyranny of the Congreſs: and towards the concluſion of his ſpeech he had the abſurdity to affirm, that *the loyaliſts were the moſt numerous* party on that continent.

This extraordinary ſpeech was attacked by Mr. Burke, in a moſt powerful ſtrain of irony and wit. He ſaid, the obſervations of the honourable gentleman had convinced him, that he was, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, the miniſterial heir, the ſucceſſor, the reſiduary legatee, of the noble viſcount. The aſſets which he inherited, in conſequence, were undoubtedly a mine of wealth; and among other legacies he found, that the new ſecretary had alſo his loyaliſts, who would aſſiſt, as before, in deluding parliament and the nation. The right honourable gentleman, though an old member, was converted into a young miniſter; yet, notwithſtanding the metamorphoſis, he was ſo truly the ſame thing in the ſame place, that it might be juſtly ſaid of him, *alter et idem naſcitur.* This would not appear extraordinary to thoſe who recollected that he had ſtudied, not merely at the feet of Gamaliel, but abſolutely in contact with

with him (Mr. Ellis was remarked for always ſitting cloſe to Lord George Germaine), and having ſerved an apprenticeſhip to the American war, which was at leaſt productive of one new ſtateſman, and of many new peers, it was not to be wondered at that he ſhould ſupport it. As the right honourable gentleman, he ſaid, was of the caterpillar ſpecies, he had remained within the ſoft and ſilken folds of a lucrative employment; till, having burſt his ligaments, he fluttered forth the miniſter of the day: an inſect, as to exteriors, transformed, but inwardly and at heart the ſame. Other members mentioned, that the rumour was, that the war was henceforth to be a war of poſts; which they could not diſtinguiſh from offenſive war.

The ſecretary at war (Mr. Jenkinſon), condemned the motion as inexplicable. The words, "impracticable purpoſe of reducing the Ame-"ricans *by force*," conveyed to his mind no preciſe idea whatever. He had never heard of a war to be carried on without force: what he underſtood by a war of poſts was, the taking poſſeſſion of certain poſts; not to be blocked up in them, but, when opportunity offered, to ſally out, to advance, and, if requiſite, to take new poſts.

The arguments of Mr. Jenkinſon did not, on this occaſion, eſcape the pointed animadverſion of Mr. Fox. He ſaid, the new American ſecretary had held a dubious language: he had firſt talked of peace, then of war, then of peace again; but the laſt right hon. gentleman had ſpoken out; he had held the language of a principal. That infernal ſpirit which governed the country, and which was greater than miniſters, had ſpoken through his mouth, and had given the houſe to underſtand what was to be the future conduct of

the war. We were to take poſts, advance, take new poſts, and then advance again. What was this but an exact copy of the American war hitherto? The houſe, he ſaid, now knew who governed this country, though his oſtenſible ſituation was merely that of ſecretary at war.

The deciſion of this queſtion was a real triumph to Oppoſition, as the motion was loſt only by a ſingle vote; and as a majority of the abſent members were ſuppoſed to be adverſe to the miniſtry, it was thought expedient to bring the queſtion again, as ſpeedily as poſſible, under the conſideration of parliament, in a different form. On the 27th, therefore, General Conway brought forward a new motion to the ſame effect, only varied in the expreſſion, in conformity with the rules and forms of the houſe. The motion was ſeconded by Lord Althorpe; and petitions from ſeveral of the principal trading towns were read in diſapprobation of the war. In order to evade the queſtion, the attorney-general, Mr. Wallace, recommended, that a truce ſhould be propoſed with America, and undertook himſelf to prepare a bill to this effect: and to allow ſufficient time for this buſineſs, he concluded with moving, that the motion then before the houſe ſhould be deferred for a fortnight. The intended deception was, however, too obvious to impoſe upon the houſe; and, on a diviſion upon Mr. Wallace's amendment, a majority of *nineteen* appeared againſt the miniſtry. The motion of General Conway was immediately followed by another, for an addreſs to his majeſty, to put an end to the war: and it was further reſolved, that the addreſs ſhould be preſented by the whole houſe.

It was a remarkable circumſtance, that the noted General Arnold was found ſtanding at the right

hand of his Majeſty, when the houſe went up to St. James's to preſent the addreſs. This circumſtance drew forth ſome pointed obſervations in parliament from Lord Surrey, ſince Duke of Norfolk, who declared, "That it was an inſult "to the houſe, and deſerved its cenſure."

On the Monday following his Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs was reported. After which, General Conway roſe again, to move another reſolution, declaring, "That the houſe would con-"ſider as enemies to his Majeſty, and to the "country, all thoſe who ſhould adviſe the fur-"ther proſecution of offenſive war on the con-"tinent of North America." The neceſſity of this meaſure, the General ſaid, aroſe from two circumſtances. The firſt was, that miniſters had declared, that, though they ſhould think themſelves bound to comply with the ſenſe of the houſe, yet they ſtill retained their former ſentiments. The unwilling obedience of men who could bring themſelves to act in oppoſition to their own judgment, he thought, could not be too ſtrongly ſecured. The other circumſtance which induced the General to take this ſtep was, he ſaid, the anſwer which miniſters had adviſed his majeſty to return to the addreſs of the houſe. In that anſwer, all reference to the proſecution of offenſive war, was cauticuſly avoided. The houſe was informed, in general terms, that he ſhould take ſuch meaſures as might appear to him moſt conducive to the reſtoration of peace; but the houſe had no reaſon to ſuppoſe, but that a more vigorous proſecution of the war might be deemed one of theſe conducive meaſures. After a feeble oppoſition, the motion was ſuffered to paſs without a diviſion.

On the ſucceſs of theſe motions a general exulta-

tion and triumph pervaded the whole nation; the mere locuſts of adminiſtration, and thoſe who battened on the ruin of their country excepted. The people ſeemed to awake as from a lethargy; and the Whigs, who had long laboured under an oppreſſive weight of miniſterial obloquy, were once more regarded as the real friends and ſaviours of their country. The embarraſſment and diſmay of the miniſters is hardly to be deſcribed: they were conſcious of what they deſerved from their injured country; and, as they poſſeſſed neither ſpirit nor dignity, even to retain their poſts became an object of the firſt magnitude. They clung to them with all the ardour of avarice, and the ſubterfuges of cunning; and every effort of corruption was exhauſted, to prevent their diſmiſſion. The gilded inſects, however, which played about them in the ſunſhine of their proſperity, were all deſerted; and no artifice could raiſe them a permanent majority. In the interior of the court all was, at this period, embarraſſment and confuſion. The continuance of the miniſtry in office, was thought to be a favourite object with certain perſons in high authority. At length, however, the prudence of ſome, and the timidity of others, induced the court to give way to the impatience of the public; but, before this criſis, ſome parliamentary tranſactions preſent themſelves, which it will be proper to record.

As the miniſters had intimated, that though parliament had interfered with its advice reſpecting the American war, ſtill, ſince it had expreſſed no direct cenſure on their conduct, they could not be expected to reſign; on the the 8th of March an attempt was made to remove this impediment. A direct vote of cenſure upon the adminiſtration was moved on that day by Lord John Cavendiſh, and

and ſeconded by Mr. Powys, in a very forcible ſpeech, in which he arraigned both the principle of the war, and the miſconduct of miniſters, in the ſtrongeſt terms.

As little could be urged in favour of the wiſdom, virtue, or patriotiſm of the miniſtry, their advocates, with their uſual chichanery, choſe to take new ground upon the queſtion. The motion being evidently intended for the removal of miniſters, the houſe was deſired, before it adopted ſo ſerious a meaſure, to take a view of the political creed of thoſe who moſt probably would be their immediate ſucceſſors. On this occaſion, the popular principles of Mr. Fox were perverted with ſome dexterity, for the purpoſe of raiſing diſtruſt among his ariſtocratical connexions. It was aſked, Was the houſe prepared to vote the independence of America? was it prepared to new-model the conſtitution; to alter the duration of parliaments, and the form of the repreſentation? Was it willing to conſent to the revival of thoſe latent powers, which a noble peer had, in the courſe of his reading, diſcovered to exiſt in the houſe of lords? Would it conſent to the violation of the national faith with the crown, by adopting Mr. Burke's bill of reform in the civil liſt expenditure?

Mr. Fox entered into a very able defence of his own principles. He pleaded guilty to the charge of wiſhing to accede to the independence of America; becauſe he was ſatisfied, that no other meaſure could ſecure to this country a return of the bleſſings of peace. With regard to ſhortening the duration of parliaments, he alſo allowed, that it was a meaſure to which he was favourably diſpoſed; becauſe he believed it to be the conſtitution of this country, eſtabliſhed at the Revolution; and the ſeptennial act was evi-

dently a violation of that conſtitution. He entered into a warm panegyric on his friend Mr. Burke's bill, which he conſidered as one of the moſt effectual modes of counteracting that influence of the crown which the houſe had, by a ſolemn vote, declared, "ought to be diminiſhed."

The motion was not leſs ably ſupported by Mr. Burke. He ſaid, that it was blaſphemy to aſcribe to Providence the blunders of a weak and wicked adminiſtration; whom he very ſucceſsfully charged, not only with folly and incapacity, but with the moſt corrupt and criminal profuſion of the public money. The ſupport of the ſmall garriſon in Gibraltar, coſt the public the annual ſum of 600,000l.; a ſum equal to the whole revenue of the King of Sardinia. For the ſingle legion of Colonel Tarleton, which could not be numerous, Meſſrs. Muir and Atkinſon had ſent out oats for one year's conſumption, to the amount of 80,000l. though theſe reſpectable contractors did not pay above 36,000l. prime coſt, for an article on which they made this enormous charge. All the charges were in proportion; for the mere proviſions for only 40,000 men were charged to the public, at the incredible ſum of 1,200,000l. Among other items in one year's expences, he found the charge of 57,000l. for preſents to the Indians. He was of opinion, that theſe ſavages ſet rather too high a value on their labours, ſince it appeared, that for this immenſe ſum *they had only maſſacred twenty-five women and children.* Either then the Britiſh adminiſtration were too generous to their reſpectable and compaſſionate allies, or theſe good creatures eſtimated the blood of females and of children at prices more exorbitant than they uſually demanded.

The

The debate laſted till two in the morning, when, on a diviſion, there appeared, in favour of adminiſtration, a majority of TEN.

The interval from this period to the fifteenth, was generally ſuppoſed to have been employed in various unſucceſsful attempts to divide the party in oppoſition; who, however, appeared rather to increaſe than to diminiſh; for on a motion made that day by Sir John Rous, of a ſimilar tendency with the motion of the 8th, the majority of the miniſtry was reduced to nine, though the whole force of both parties was collected, and the number of members preſent was nearly four hundred and eighty.

A moſt abſurd ſpeech was attributed, on this occaſion, to Sir James Marriot; in which, among a maſs of technical trifling, equally ridiculous, and which created infinite amuſement to the houſe, he attempted ſeriouſly to prove, that the North-American colonies were, not virtually, but *actually*, repreſented in the Britiſh parliament; ſince theſe colonies, by the original grants and charters, were conſidered as a part of the manor of Eaſt-Greenwich in Kent; and conſequently, by the very nature of the tenure, were actually repreſented by the knights of the ſhire for the county of Kent.

The debate was no ſooner concluded, than notice was given, that a ſimilar motion would be ſubmitted to the houſe on the 19th by Lord Surrey. On that day, before Lord Surrey could open the queſtion, Lord North preſented himſelf to the houſe, but was not heard without ſome difficulty, as the independent members in oppoſition, diſtruſtful of his motives, inſiſted upon Lord Surrey being heard in preference. By the interpoſition of Mr. Fox, however, Lord North having

having obtained a hearing, declared, "that he "had authority to aſſure the houſe, that his ma- "jeſty's miniſtry was at an end." It is remarkable, that notwithſtanding his lordſhip's moſt ſolemn aſſeveration, ſo accuſtomed had the houſe been to ſubterfuges and deception, that they were with difficulty prevailed on to defer proceeding to the vote of cenſure; and it was not till after repeated aſſurances from ſeveral perſons, that no deception whatever was meant, that the motion was withdrawn, and the houſe adjourned to the Monday following.

Thus terminated an adminiſtration, which for a ſeries of years had diſgraced the country, and almoſt reduced it to the brink of ruin; which had plunged the nation into a war, under the pretext of levying a tax which would not have paid for the collection of it; and which refuſed every offer of accommodation, ſhort of the moſt unconditional ſubmiſſion; and yet, after the loſs of much blood and treaſure, gradually receded from every propoſition on which they had before inſiſted.

There never was, perhaps, a more ſingular mixture of pride and meanneſs, of cunning and incapacity, of effrontery and cowardice, than this adminiſtration exhibited. Whoever contemplates the whole of the American diſpute, will ſee every part of this cenſure ſtrongly exemplified. The inſolence with which the moſt condeſcending petitions, the moſt reſpectful propoſals from America were received, in the commencement of the diſpute, could only be paralleled by the mean and degrading artifices which were employed during its progreſs, and the truly humiliating conceſſions which were offered towards its termination. It is ſomething ſingular, that, while miniſtry poſ-

ſeſſed

ſeſſed the full power of external taxation, which placed in the hands of the Britiſh parliament the whole financial arrangements of America, it could be abſurd enough to contend for apparently ſo empty a ſhadow, as that of internal taxation: it may ſeem extraordinary alſo, that America, while ſhe ſo tamely acquieſced in the one, ſhould be diſpoſed, at the expence of her beſt blood, to contend againſt the other; but America probably foreſaw, in admitting the principle of internal taxation, the complete overthrow of her liberties; ſhe ſaw the immediate annihilation of her popular aſſemblies, which would then be rendered nugatory. The coloniſts foreſaw a ſwarm of rapacious inſects, under the different forms of collectors of the revenue, to be quartered on them: they foreſaw, in one word, the ſole government of their country transferred to perſons who were at too great a diſtance to be either judges of their ſufferings, or affected with their complaints; and in the levying of taxes they feared that partiality, which in ſuch caſes will neceſſarily affect the moſt unexceptionable of human characters, and induce them to transfer the burden from themſelves to others.

Innumerable plans had been propoſed for the adjuſtment of the diſputed points between the colonies and the mother country; but, either from obſtinacy, or ſome more corrupt motive, adminiſtration refuſed to pay the ſmalleſt attention to them. The venerable Franklin, and the judicious Penn, were equally inſulted; and in the progreſs of the war, the ſame little ſpirit, the ſame contemptible pride, was manifeſted upon every occaſion. To an application, certainly unexceptionable, becauſe humanity was its baſis, an anſwer equally pompous and puerile was returned:

"The

"The King's ambaſſador receives letters from "rebels, only when they ſue for pardon."

The incapacity which appeared in the conduct of the war, was perfectly conſiſtent with the folly which produced it. Outrage was heaped upon outrage; and the moſt exaſperating meaſures were purſued againſt the Americans, even before we had an army there to enforce them. On the contrary, the views of the Americans expanded with circumſtances. The active perſons on the popular ſide did not probably expect to find ſuch an unanimity of ſentiment as appeared to pervade the whole continent, ſoon after the meeting of congreſs. They at firſt confined their hopes to the repeal of the obnoxious meaſures. Succeſs, and a knowledge of their own ſtrength, united with, perhaps, an apprehenſion of the moſt fatal conſequences ſhould they be ſubdued, and the hopes of aſſiſtance from foreign powers, led them to that daring meaſure, the proclamation of independence. Even then, and even after the declaration of the Houſe of Bourbon in their favour, their beſt ally was the groſs incapacity of the Britiſh miniſters, whoſe confined views, feeble underſtandings, and whoſe negligent and profligate habits, diſabled them from foreſeeing any event; and who were even deluding themſelves and the people, by declamatory harangues concerning the pacific views of France, at the very time when that court had concluded a treaty with the United States.

It remains on record, the moſt deciſive proof of the patient and acquieſcent ſpirit of the Britiſh nation, that ſuch an adminiſtration was tolerated for ſo many years. It is become the faſhion to declaim againſt ariſtocracy; but the American war is a proof that the complaint is groundleſs, and that the venality of the commercial part of the nation is a much

much more ſerious evil than the ariſtocracy. Againſt the whole ariſtocracy of the kingdom, the American war was carried on for years, entirely under the influence of contracts, commiſſions, bribes, under one form or other, diſtributed chiefly among the merchants and traders. It was at laſt by the exertions chiefly of the ariſtocracy, that the nation was redeemed from ruin.

It affords a further teſtimony of the patient and forgiving temper of this nation, that not one man was brought to the ſcaffold in conſequence of this atrocious miſconduct; when, had ſuch events occurred in more deſpotic countries, under the preſent government of Turkey, or the old government of France, the blood of delinquent miniſters would have flowed in copious ſtreams, to appeaſe the offended genius of the country. But however the circumſtance may do honour to the humanity of the Britiſh nation, its policy will ſtill be dubious in the eyes of many. The miniſtry were apparently guilty of almoſt every ſpecies of malverſation: if any men are deſerving of exemplary puniſhment, it is ſurely thoſe who ſacrifice fruitleſsly the lives of their fellow-citizens; and had a few of them been impeached upon this occaſion, it muſt have had the moſt ſalutary effect: it would have operated as a warning to future adminiſtrations, againſt ſporting with the beſt intereſts of a country, and waſting its blood and treaſure in wanton, improvident, and profligate wars. Why no impeachments followed on this extraordinary change, the ſubſequent events will in ſome meaſure explain.

The new arrangement of miniſters was made upon as broad a baſis as the nature of things would admit, and included the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages

ſonages among the two great parties which divided the Whig intereſt of the nation; the Rockingham party, and that which, ſince the death of Lord Chatham, had been accuſtomed to conſider Lord Shelburne as their political leader. The Marquis of Rockingham, whoſe large property, and extended influence, whoſe ſound judgment and integrity, juſtly exalted him in the opinion of the nation, occupied the principal ſtation, as firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; and Lord John Cavendiſh, whoſe high birth was rendered ſtill more illuſtrious by his virtue and patriotiſm, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer. The ſplendid abilities of Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox, filled the offices of the two ſecretaries of ſtate; Lord Camden was preſident of the council; the Duke of Grafton was appointed lord privy-ſeal; Admiral Keppel, who was created a viſcount, preſided over the board of admiralty; General Conway was made commander in chief, and the Duke of Richmond maſter of the ordnance; Lord Thurlow was continued lord high chancellor; and theſe ten, with Mr. Dunning, created Lord Aſhburton, and made chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, conſtituted the cabinet council.

Mr. Burke was made paymaſter, in the room of Mr. Rigby, Colonel Barré treaſurer of the navy, and Mr. T. Townſhend ſecretary at war. The Duke of Portland went to Ireland, to ſucceed the Earl of Carliſle as lord-lieutenant; Sir Fletcher Norton was created a baron, by the title of Lord Grantley; and Lloyd Kenyon and John Lee, eſqrs. were appointed attorney and ſolicitor general.

The public meaſures for which the Whig miniſtry are ſaid to have ſtipulated were, firſt, Peace with America, and the acknowledgement of their indepen-

independence, ſhould it be neceſſary to that object; ſecondly, A reform in the ſeveral branches of the civil liſt expenditure, upon the plan ſuggeſted by Mr. Burke; and thirdly, The diminution of the influence of the crown, by excluding contractors from ſeats in the houſe of commons, and by diſqualifying revenue-officers from voting in elections for members of parliament.

While theſe important changes were in agitation, the affairs of Ireland began to aſſume a very ſerious aſpect. Diſſatisfied with the oppoſition which the miniſtry had manifeſted to what they eſteemed their undoubted rights, the volunteers of the province of Ulſter convened a general meeting of the repreſentatives of the different corps, at Dungannon, on the 15th of February, 1782.—At this meeting a ſeries of reſolutions were paſſed, importing, "That the claim of any body of men, "other than the king, lords, and commons of "Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, "is unconſtitutional, illegal, and a grievance; "that the powers exerciſed by the privy-coun-"cils of both kingdoms, under the colour of "Poyning's Law, are unconſtitutional, &c.; "that all reſtraints impoſed on the trade of Ire-"land, except by the parliament of that king-"dom, are unconſtitutional, &c.; that a mu-"tiny bill, not limited in duration from ſeſſion "to ſeſſion, is alſo unconſtitutional, &c.; that "the independence of the judges is eſſential "to the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in "Ireland, &c." Theſe reſolutions they determined to ſupport by every legal means; to give their ſuffrage to no member of parliament who would not engage to vote in their favour: and they appointed a ſtanding committee, to promote the objects of the meeting, by every authorized means.

It

It was the 8th of April, before any buſineſs of importance was tranſacted in the Britiſh parliament, after the appointment of the Whig adminiſtration. On that day, the affairs of Ireland were abruptly introduced by Mr. Eden, who had acted as ſecretary to Lord Carliſle in that kingdom, and was juſt arrived with his lordſhip's reſignation of the vice-royalty. It was thought a ſingular circumſtance, that the very man who had been the agent of a miniſtry ſo averſe to the wiſhes of the Iriſh, ſhould now undertake to act ſo contrary a part; and, as if merely to embarraſs the new adminiſtration, and to deprive them of all the popularity which ſuch a ſtep might enſure them in Ireland, ſhould have travelled poſt, on purpoſe at this criſis, to move the repeal of ſo much of the act of the 6th of George I. as aſſerted a right in the king and parliament of Great Britain, to make laws to bind the people of Ireland.

The indecency of forcing a buſineſs of ſuch magnitude in ſo precipitate a manner upon the houſe, and wreſting it out of the hands of miniſtry, was treated with the contempt and indignation it deſerved; and their diſpleaſure was increaſed by the declaration of Mr. Eden, that he had avoided all communication with the miniſtry, becauſe they had ſhewn a want of attention to Lord Carliſle, in removing him from his appointments. A vote of cenſure was at laſt threatened upon his conduct, and he was prevailed upon to withdraw his motion.

In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Fox acquainted the houſe, that three ſucceſſive councils had been held expreſsly upon the affairs of Ireland, and that probably within twenty-four hours he would be prepared to ſubmit ſome propoſition to parliament with reſpect to them. On the following day, therefore,

therefore, he preſented a meſſage from his Majeſty to the houſe of commons, to the effect—"That, being concerned to find diſcontents and "jealouſies prevailing among his loyal ſubjects "in Ireland, on matters of great weight and im-"portance, he earneſtly recommended to the houſe "to take the ſame into conſideration." A ſimilar meſſage was delivered to the Lords by the Earl of Shelburne.

Mr. Eden ſet out for Ireland on the evening of the 9th; but Mr. Fox, aware of his intentions, had diſpatched Colonel Fitzpatrick, ſecretary to the Duke of Portland, on the ſame day, to prevent all miſrepreſentation; and this gentleman's departure was preceded by an order to ſtop the ſailing of every packet-boat for Ireland, till that which conveyed Colonel Fitzpatrick had arrived. The Colonel reached Dublin on the 12th: on the night of the 13th Mr. Eden arrived there; and on the morning of the 14th the Duke of Portland in perſon. On the 15th, a meſſage ſimilar to that which was delivered to the Engliſh parliament, was preſented to the Iriſh houſe of commons. On this occaſion, an addreſs to his Majeſty was moved, by the celebrated orator and patriot Mr. Grattan; which may be conſidered as a new declaration of rights for that kingdom. It aſſerted particularly, that Ireland was a diſtinct kingdom, the crown of Ireland an imperial crown; and that no authority except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, could make laws to bind that nation. It repreſented the power aſſumed by the councils of both kingdoms, of altering bills, as an unconſtitutional grievance; and inſiſted upon a mutiny bill, limited in duration, as eſſential to the liberty of the nation. This addreſs was unanimouſly voted.

Juſtice

Juſtice and policy equally ſeconded the views of Ireland on this occaſion: the obnoxious acts of parliament were immediately repealed; by which the whole powers of goverment, legiſlative and executive, were veſted ſolely in the king, lords, and commons of Ireland; the controuling power of the Engliſh parliament, and the practice of altering bills in the privy-council, were renounced for ever; and a mutiny bill was enacted, limited in its duration to two years.

In return for theſe conceſſions, the parliament of Ireland immediately voted 100,000l. for the purpoſe of raiſing 20,000 ſeamen for the public ſervice. At the ſame time 50,000l. was voted to Henry Grattan, eſq. for his eminent ſervices: a vote which reflected honour on the people who beſtowed the reward, and on the ability and integrity of the patriot who was the conſpicuous object of his country's gratitude and munificence.

While the affairs of Ireland were in this happy train of adjuſtment, the plans of reformation and œconomy which had been recommended by the miniſtry, were proſecuted with vigour in the Britiſh parliament. The bills for excluding contractors from ſeats in the houſe of commons, and incapacitating revenue-officers from voting at elections for members of parliament, were paſſed, with a feeble oppoſition from Lord Mansfield, and a vexatious and frivolous ſeries of objections from the Chancellor.

In the courſe of the debate on the contractors bill, the Chancellor ſtyled it "a puny regulation, "only calculated to deceive and betray the peo-"ple."—On very different principles from thoſe of the Noble Lord, all good patriots muſt ſee, that it is indeed a *puny* regulation. Greatly as the principle of the bill muſt be approved by all honeſt

honeſt men, it cannot but afford matter of ſurpriſe, that its probable inefficiency ſhould have eſcaped the ſagacity of thoſe who planned it; and that it ſhould never have occurred that a bill directing, that *every contract ſhall be diſpoſed of by auction to the loweſt undertaker*, can be the only means of preſerving public œconomy in theſe tranſactions; of giving a fair chance to the independent trader, and of preventing effectually the corrupt influence of the miniſter. If the contractor does not fulfil the terms of his contract, it will be to his own loſs, as the courts of law will ſcarcely be backward in compelling an individual to do juſtice to the public. Every neceſſary for the fleet and army ſhould alſo be ſupplied by contract, and as little left to the rapacity of commiſſaries as poſſible. The prediction may ſeem viſionary, but time will probably juſtify its authors—IF EVER THE LIBERTY OF ENGLAND SHOULD BE ANNIHILATED, IT WILL BE BY THE CORRUPT INFLUENCE OF ADMINISTRATION EXERTED OVER THE COMMERCIAL WORLD.

Mr. Burke's bill for the reform of the civil liſt expenditure, was alſo introduced in this ſeſſion, with augmented ſplendour, but with diminiſhed efficacy. Its ſplendour was increaſed by the circumſtance of its appearing under the immediate patronage and recommendation of his Majeſty; but the retrenchments which it ſuffered on this occaſion, were ſtrongly lamented by all true friends to public œconomy. As its object, however, even in its altered ſtate, was to enable the crown to prevent an arrear of debt accruing upon the civil liſt, by an annual ſaving of 76,000l. its ſucceſsful paſſage through the different branches of the legiſlature, afforded ſatisfaction to the friends of their country.

Another circumſtance, though it was attended with no immediate good effects, and though the perſon who might be conſidered as the principal party concerned, had long deſervedly ſunk in the public eſteem, ſeemed yet to afford almoſt univerſal ſatisfaction.—On the 3d of May, on the motion of Mr. Wilkes, ſeconded by Mr. Byng, the celebrated vote of the 17th of February, 1769, relative to the Middleſex election, was reſcinded and expunged from the journals, as well as all the other motions relative to the incapacity of Mr. Wilkes to take his ſeat in that parliament.

One of the great errors of the Whig miniſtry was the continuing in office the Lord Chancellor Thurlow; and in the progreſs of the ſeſſion they experienced much embarraſſment from his obſtinate and vexatious oppoſition to every plan of reform. Among many proofs of this diſpoſition, it is only neceſſary to ſpecify one. A bill having paſſed the Commons for disfranchiſing certain electors of the borough of Cricklade, in conſequence of ſeveral ſhameleſs inſtances of bribery being proved againſt them, the bill was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in the houſe of lords, upon the moſt frivolous grounds, by the Lord Chancellor; and ſo exaſperated was the Duke of Richmond by this conduct, that he declared, "That he found "it ſo intricate a taſk to anſwer the quibbles of "lawyers above and below the bar, that he muſt "transfer the buſineſs to other hands;" and moved for counſel to ſupport the bill. His Lordſhip, however, received from Lord Forteſcue a ſtill more ſevere rebuke.—That nobleman, in animadverting on the conduct of the Chancellor, obſerved, that "what he had long dreaded was actually come "to paſs: the dignity of that houſe was lowered "and tarniſhed by the profuſion of lawyers which

"had

"had been introduced into it. It was no longer "a houſe of peers; it was a mere court of law, "where truth and juſtice were ſacrificed to the chi- "canery and quibble of Weſtminſter-Hall. That "once dignified and auguſt aſſembly, reſembled "more a meeting of attornies, than a houſe of par- "liament: it brought to his recollection the Cor- "niſh courts, where, for want of barriſters, attornies "were permitted to plead. The Chancellor, he "obſerved, was fraught with nothing but contra- "dictions and ſubtilties. The preſent miniſtry, "he thought, deſerved approbation; but it filled "his breaſt with indignation to ſee them thwarted "day after day, by men who, he was not aſhamed "to repeat, reſembled more a ſet of Corniſh "attornies, than members of that houſe."

The committees which had been appointed for inſpecting the affairs of the India Company, continued to ſit during almoſt the whole ſeſſion, with unremitting diligence and application. On the 9th of April the Lord Advocate of Scotland, chairman of the ſecret committee, moved, that their reports ſhould be ſubmitted to a committee of the whole houſe, and entered into a very copious detail of India politics and finances. On the 22d of the ſame month, in conſequence of theſe reports, a long ſeries of reſolutions, chiefly relative to the finances of the Company, were moved by the Lord Advocate, and paſſed by the houſe; and on the 29th of the ſame month, a bill for inflicting pains and penalties on Sir Thomas Rumbold, for high crimes and miſdemeanours, committed during his adminiſtration in the Carnatic; and another, for reſtraining Sir Thomas Rumbold, and Peter Perring, eſq. from going out of the kingdom; were introduced under the ſame authority. On the 28th of May, a ſeries

of reſolutions were agreed to by the houſe, the fruits of the labours of the ſecret committee. The firſt and moſt material of theſe was a PROHIBITORY CONDEMNATION OF OFFENSIVE WAR, and all ſchemes of conqueſt and dominion in India. The reſolutions concluded with a cenſure on the conduct of Warren Haſtings, eſq. governor-general in Bengal, and W. Hornſby, eſq. preſident of the council in Bombay; and a declaration, that it was the duty of the court of directors to take the neceſſary legal ſteps for their recall.

In conſequence of a recommendation from the ſelect committee, the houſe, on the 24th of April, came to ſeveral reſolutions cenſuring the conduct of Laurence Sullivan, eſq. chairman of the court of directors, for having neglected to tranſmit the act for the regulation of the Company's ſervants in India; by which neglect the good purpoſes of the ſaid act for regulating the judicature, and relieving the three native judges confined in priſon at Calcutta were fruſtrated. Votes of cenſure were alſo paſſed on Mr. Sullivan, for adminiſtering an oath of ſecrecy to one of the ſecretaries of the Company, reſtraining him from giving information to the committee.

It was further reſolved, in conſequence of motions from General Smith, the chairman of the ſame committee, "That Warren Haſtings, eſq. "governor-general of Bengal, and Sir Elijah "Impey, knight, chief juſtice of the ſupreme "court of Fort-William, in Bengal, appeared "to have been concerned, the one in giving, the "other in receiving, an office contrary to the "intent of the act of the 13th of his preſent "Majeſty, for the regulation of the India Com-"pany." And on theſe reſolutions, an addreſs to the King was agreed to by the houſe, preſſing for

the

the recal of Sir Elijah Impey. It was further reſolved, that the powers veſted in the governor-general and council "ought to be more diſtinctly "aſcertained; and that it would be proper to re-"duce into one the ſeveral acts for the regulation "of the Eaſt-India Company."

The public mind had long been agitated by the important queſtion of a reform in the repreſentation, and various meetings had been held in different parts of the country, for the promotion of that object. On the 7th of May, the attention of the houſe was called to this ſubject by Mr. W. Pitt. After ſtating the uſual arguments, and appealing to ſeveral facts, demonſtrative of the preſent inadequate ſyſtem of repreſentation, he particularly adverted to the ſtriking circumſtance, that the Nabob of Arcot, a foreign prince, had not leſs than ſeven or eight members in that houſe. He concluded with moving, "That "a committee ſhould be appointed to inquire into "the ſtate of the repreſentation, and to report to "the houſe their opinion thereon."—The motion was ably ſupported by Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Fox, and Sir George Savile; and was oppoſed by Mr. Powys, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and others: it was however rejected by a majority of one hundred and ſixty-one to one hundred and forty-one.

Though the commiſſion for examining the public accounts had not been appointed in the moſt popular and becoming manner; yet, as figures are ſtubborn, and as the gentlemen employed were in general men of character and honour, their labours ſerved to bring to light a variety of flagitious tranſactions, which had not been generally known, or had not ſufficiently attracted the public attention. Seven of their reports were ſubmitted to the public, before the riſing of parliament

this year.—From these it appeared, "that large "sums of money had been left in the hands of the "different paymasters and treasurers unaccounted "for, sometimes for many years, to the great preju- "dice of the nation; that their accounts were in "some cases never brought to any final adjustment; "and that the modes of settling the accounts, were "in many respects improper, and unnecessarily in- "tricate and tedious." It also appeared from these reports, "that the fees, perquisites, and profits "of certain offices, were exorbitant; that persons "under the denomination of second clerks, and "who yet never attended any business whatever, "received more than 1300l. a-year; and that "others, in higher offices, who never performed "the least services to the public, nor even af- "fected to perform any, had incomes to a much "greater amount." It appeared further, that there had been a most shameful and profligate waste of the public money in North America, under the pretence of the extraordinaries of the army.

A vote, in approbation of the conduct of the commissioners of accounts, was passed by the house of commons: but the lateness of the season was pleaded in apology for not proceeding to the com- pletion and perfection of those plans of reform and regulation which ought to have succeeded, and which were said, we believe truly, to be in the contemplation of ministry. The resolutions, how- ever, which were moved on the 18th of June, by Lord John Cavendish, still remain upon record, an authentic testimony of what ought to have been done, and of what probably would have been done, had the Whig party, happily for the nation, continued united and in power. The first of these resolutions related to the collection of the land, house, and window taxes; the second, to the con-

solidation

ſolidation of the various tax-offices; the four following, to the offices of the paymaſter and treaſurer of the navy; the ſeventh and eighth, to the regulation or abolition of certain offices in the exchequer.—By the laſt, the miniſter bound himſelf, in caſe of a vacancy, not to preſent to any of theſe offices.

While the efforts of patriotiſm were thus ſucceſsful in relieving the country from its internal enemies, the people were not leſs gratified by a ſeries of brilliant ſucceſſes againſt her external foes. The year, however, commenced with ſome adverſe appearances. In Europe, the iſland of Minorca was taken by the Spaniards, on the 5th of February, after a cloſe ſiege of upwards of ſix months; during which the garriſon ſuffered extremely from the want of freſh proviſions, and conſequently from the ravages of the ſea-ſcurvy, and other fatal maladies. Such was indeed its ſtate, at the time of its ſurrender, that not ſix hundred men could be found in Fort St. Philip, capable of performing the ordinary duty. The decided ſuperiority which was poſſeſſed by the combined fleets of France and Spain in the Weſt Indies, enabled them early in the ſpring to retake the ſettlements of Demerary and Eſſequibo; and by their immediate reſtoration to the Dutch, with every expreſſion of liberality, they were enabled more firmly to attach to their intereſts their new ally.

The projects of the French did not, however, terminate here.—On the 1ſt of January the Marquis de Bouillé landed on the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's with eight thouſand men, and was ſupported by the Count de Graſſe, with thirty-two ſhips of the line. The garriſon, under General Frazer, did not exceed ſix hundred effective men; but with this ſmall force, the

General retired to the almoſt inacceſſible fortreſs on Brimſtone-hill. The Engliſh fleet, which conſiſted of twenty-two ſhips of the line, under Sir Samuel Hood, was, in the mean time, ſtationed at Barbadoes, for the protection of that iſland: but the admiral was no ſooner informed of the attack upon St. Chriſtopher's, than he determined upon a moſt adventurous enterpriſe for the preſervation of that iſland; and on the 24th of January proceeded for Baſſe-Terre Road, with an intention of attacking the enemy as they lay at anchor. The Britiſh line was ſcarcely formed on the morning of the 25th, when the Count de Graſſe, exulting probably in the conſciouſneſs of his ſuperior force, and pleaſed at ſeeing his adverſaries apparently in his power, conceived it neceſſary to quit his anchorage, in order to take the full advantage of his ſuperiority. The movement was unfortunate for the French admiral; for Sir Samuel Hood loſt no time in embracing the ſingular opportunity which this movement afforded, and inſtantly directed his courſe to Baſſe-Terre Road, and took poſſeſſion of the anchorage which the enemy had juſt quitted. In this ſituation the Britiſh commander was enabled to withſtand two ſpirited attacks of his opponents, and finally to repulſe them. The ſucceſs of this adventure inſpired the admiral with the fulleſt hopes of being able effectually to ſupport the garriſon, and to ſave the iſland: but the criminal neglect of the miniſtry had furniſhed it with only ſix hundred troops, while upwards of two thouſand were neceſſary to maintain the poſt. After a cloſe and preſſing ſiege, therefore, of four weeks, the fortreſs capitulated on the 13th of February; and the preſence of Sir Samuel Hood being no longer of uſe, the Britiſh ſquadron

ſlipped

ſlipped their cables in the night, and eſcaped a conteſt, which, from the great ſuperiority of the enemy, muſt have been inevitably fatal. Nevis and Montſerrat followed the fortune of St. Chriſtopher's; ſo that, of all our numerous Weſt India poſſeſſions, only Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua, remained at the diſſolution of Lord North's adminiſtration.

The naval career of the French and Spaniards was fortunately interrupted in the beginning of of February, by the arrival of Sir George Rodney, with twelve ſhips of the line at Barbadoes, and his ſubſequent junction with Sir Samuel Hood. The fleet was ſoon after reinforced, by the arrival of three ſhips of the line more from England; and their firſt object was to endeavour to intercept a freſh convoy from Breſt; but which eſcaped by the excellent management of the commander. The Britiſh fleet, about the beginning of March, amounted to thirty-ſix ſail of the line; that of the French, to only thirty-four; the objects of the hoſtile commanders were therefore very different. It was the buſineſs and the deſign of the Count de Graſſe to avoid an engagement, till a junction with the Spaniſh fleet ſhould give him a decided ſuperiority; while, on the contrary, the very ſalvation of the Britiſh Weſt Indies depended on the admiral's preventing the intended junction. On the 8th of April the Count de Graſſe weighed anchor from Fort Royal, with a large convoy under his protection, and intended to proceed to Hiſpaniola, where he expected to meet the Spaniſh fleet. In the mean time, the intelligence of the Britiſh admiral was ſo timely and authentic, that he was enabled to follow them by noon of the ſame day, from Gros-Iſlet Bay, in St. Lucia, and came within ſight of the enemy

enemy off Dominique that very night. Both fleets prepared for action by day-break on the ſucceeding day. The Engliſh, however, lay becalmed under the high-lands of Dominique, till near nine o'clock, when the breeze at length reached the fleet, and carried the van directly into the centre of the enemy, while the centre and rear of the Engliſh were ſtill becalmed.

It is ſaid, that the Count de Graſſe might ſtill have avoided an engagement; but the temptation of falling with his whole force upon one third of his adverſaries, was too ſtrong to be reſiſted.

The van of the Engliſh was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, the centre by Sir George Rodney, and the rear by Admiral Francis Drake; the three diviſions of the French by the Count de Graſſe, and MM. Vaudrevil and Bougainville; all diſtinguiſhed commanders. As the combat commenced with the van of the Engliſh, this diviſion was greatly preſſed for more than an hour, by the ſuperior force of the enemy. At length, the leading ſhips of the centre were enabled to approach to the aſſiſtance of the van; and the French admiral, perceiving that he had failed in his deſign of cruſhing the firſt diviſion of the Britiſh, now changed the nature of the action, and endeavoured to prevent its becoming deciſive. About twelve o'clock, therefore, as the remaining ſhips of the centre came up, and the rear was cloſing the line, M. de Graſſe withdrew his fleet from the action, and, having the command of the wind, completely evaded all the efforts of the Britiſh commanders for its renewal. The French admiral was thus effectually baffled in all his intentions; and his ſhips received much more damage than thoſe of his adverſaries. Two were ſo much diſabled

diſabled as to be under the neceſſity of putting into Guadaloupe to refit; two of the Engliſh ſquadron were alſo much damaged, but were capable of being repaired at ſea without quitting the fleet. From the 9th to the 11th was ſpent entirely in refitting. On that day the French had got ſo far to windward, as to weather Guadaloupe; and had gained ſuch a diſtance, that the body of their fleet could only be perceived from the maſts of the Engliſh centre. About noon, however, two of the diſabled ſhips were obſerved to fall off conſiderably to leeward. The Britiſh admiral made ſignals for a general chaſe; and the purſuit ſoon became ſo vigorous, that theſe ſhips muſt have inevitably been cut off before evening, had not M. de Graſſe borne down to their aſſiſtance. The ſcene of action is deſcribed as a moderately large baſon of water, lying between the iſlands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, the Saints, and Marigalante. The hoſtile fleets met upon oppoſite tacks; and the line of battle being formed early on the morning of the 12th, the battle commenced about ſeven, and continued with unremitting fury till about the ſame hour in the evening. The ſhips were ſo near each other that every ſhot took place; and thoſe of the French, being full of men, a dreadful carnage enſued. The Formidable, Sir George Rodney's ſhip, fired not leſs than eighty broadſides. There is reaſon to believe ſhe was not ſingular, as every ſhip was engaged; while, on the contrary, the gallantry of the French was in no inſtance inferior to that of their opponents.

About noon the Britiſh admiral, with his ſeconds the Duke and the Namur, broke through the enemy's line; and immediately throwing out the ſignals for the van to tack, the Britiſh got to windward

windward, and completed the general confuſion of the French ſquadron. In this ſtate the conteſt continued with unabated violence till the cloſe of the day, when the admiral's ſhip, the Ville de Paris, ſtruck to Sir Samuel Hood in the Barfleur. Four other ſhips of the line were taken; one was ſunk, and the Cæſar, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, and one of the fineſt in the French fleet, blew up in the action. The French are ſaid to have loſt nearly three thouſand men, and to have had double that number wounded; but there is ſome reaſon to believe that this eſtimate is rather overrated. The whole loſs of the Engliſh, in killed and wounded, did not exceed one thouſand and fifty, of which two hundred and fifty-three were killed upon the ſpot. Among the officers who fell, were Captain Blair, of the Anſon; and Lord Robert Manners, ſon to the celebrated Marquis of Granby, who, having received a dangerous wound, died of a locked-jaw, on his return to England.

The Ville de Paris, in which the Count de Graſſe was taken priſoner, was a preſent from the city of Paris to Louis XV. in that fallen ſtate to which the French marine was reduced at the cloſe of the former war. She is ſaid to have coſt upwards of 176,000l. in building, and had on board, when ſhe was taken, thirty-ſix cheſts of money deſtined for the pay and ſubſiſtence of the troops in the intended invaſion of Jamaica. On the 19th Sir Samuel Hood overtook five ſail of the flying ſquadron in the Mona paſſage, which ſeparates the iſlands of Porto Rico and Hiſpaniola, and captured two, of ſixty-four guns each, the Jaſon and the Caton, with two frigates which were in company with them.

The loſs of eight ſhips of ſuch conſequence was an irreparable blow to the French; and what is ſingular, the whole of the artillery and battering cannon,

cannon, for the intended attack on the remaining Britiſh iſlands, were on board the veſſels that were taken. Sir George Rodney immediately proceeded with the ſhips and prizes for Jamaica, where, we may well conceive, he was welcomed as a deliverer: and indeed his ſucceſs was, perhaps, greater than any naval commander could ever boaſt of before; having, in the courſe of two years, inflicted a ſevere blow on each of the three great powers at war with Great Britain, and made priſoners of an admiral of each nation. Admiral Rodney, on his return, was immediately honoured with an Engliſh, and Sir Samuel Hood with an Iriſh peerage.

After ſo ſplendid a victory, the nation was prepared to endure with patience a trifling loſs. It is proper however to obſerve, that the ſucceſs of Great Britain was not entirely without alloy. On the 6th of May, a large force from the Havannah, conſiſting of three frigates, with ſixty ſail of tranſports, having on board two thouſand five hundred troops, a part of that immenſe armament which was originally intended for the invaſion of Jamaica, and under the command of Don Juan Manuel de Cagigal, appeared off the Bahama iſlands, and ſummoned them to ſurrender within the ſpace of twelve hours. The force ſtationed there under Colonel Maxwell, did not exceed one hundred and ſeventy invalids; and the native ſtrength of the iſlands was diſperſed upon the ſea, in purſuing the favourite occupation of the inhabitants, privateering. In ſuch circumſtances, a capitulation was all that the moſt ſanguine could expect; yet the governor heſitated, and found means to prolong the negociation for two days, reſting on the ſolitary hope, that chance or accident might direct ſome aſſiſtance

to

to him. On the 8th, however, a capitulation was ſigned, equally honourable to Colonel Maxwell and the Spaniſh commander, who appears to have acted through the whole of the negociation with a becoming liberality. The principal article of the capitulation was, that the Engliſh troops were permitted to embark for any part of his Majeſty's dominions, with the ſingle reſtriction of not ſerving againſt the allied powers till they ſhould be duly exchanged. The loſs of theſe iſlands could ſcarcely, at this period, be regretted in a commercial view; as, though at preſent extremely valuable, they were then but little cultivated, and were chiefly uſeful in affording a harbour for privateers.

This loſs was nearly compenſated by the reduction of the Dutch forts on the coſt of Africa. This ſervice was performed by Captain Shirley, in the Leander, of fifty guns, who, without any land forces, and ſupported only by the Alligator ſloop of war, took Acra and four other forts, which mounted one hundred and twenty-four pieces of cannon. About the ſame period, the Dutch fort of Commenda was taken by Lieutenant Cartwright, of the Argo frigate.

The Dutch alſo ſuſtained a loſs in another quarter of the world, which probably would be to them a ſtill more ſerious cauſe of regret; for on the 5th of January, the town of Trincamalé, in the iſland of Ceylon, which might be conſidered as the key of their ſpice trade, was reduced by the ſpirited exertions of Sir Edward Hughes.

The proſperity of nations, even more than that of individuals, is however precarious; and depends upon little, and frequently unforeſeen contingencies. Of the truth of this obſervation the year 1782 afforded a melancholy proof. We have ſeen the

government

government of this country wrested out of the unskilful hands which had conducted it almost to the verge of destruction; and the whole ability, the patriotism, the landed interest of the nation, at once united in support of an administration formed on the most popular basis. But the gay and pleasant prospects which arose to cheer and to console the real friends of Britain, were in a moment obscured; and a black cloud once more overspread the political horizon. The event to which we allude, is the lamented death of the Marquis of Rockingham. On the 1st of July he fell a victim to a complaint with which he had been long afflicted (the hydrothorax), and which had latterly been increased by too assiduous an application to the public business.

From general opinion only we can speak of the character of this statesman. His enemies allow him to have been possessed of talents; and indeed it requires no mean abilities in such a country as this, even with the advantages of birth and fortune, to acquire such an ascendancy as he is known to have possessed over the party with whom he was connected. But whatever his talents, his integrity and honour inspired still superior confidence; nor has even the malignity of faction been able to cast them into shade. The praises of a friend are always to be suspected; but Mr. Burke's character of the Marquis of Rockingham has never yet been contradicted.—That character attributes to the noble person who is the subject of it, some of the rarest and most valuable qualities which can fall to the lot of a finite being—"sound principles, enlargement of mind, clear "and sagacious sense, and unshaken fortitude:" he professes to have formed the basis of that attachment

tachment in which he gloried, and in which, we muſt confeſs to his honour, he perſevered.

But however little our readers may be diſpoſed to give credit to this almoſt unlimited panegyric, one truth is eſtabliſhed, that his age, his rank, his long experience and ſervices, marked him out as the centre of union which kept the jarring particles of the Whig intereſt united. The fatal conteſt for power which ſucceeded on his deceaſe, at once divided and weakened that body, on whom the hopes of the country were fixed, expoſed them to the intrigues of a pernicious faction, and (what is worſe) unſettled the confidence of the people, and taught them the deſtructive leſſon, to truſt no longer to the profeſſions of public men.

The eyes of the nation were directed to the two ſecretaries of ſtate; and had the appointment of a ſucceſſor to the deceaſed Marquis been veſted in the popular choice, ſome heſitation, and perhaps ſome diviſion of ſentiment, muſt have enſued. The univerſal and brilliant talents of Mr. Fox were counterbalanced by the long experience of Lord Shelburne, and by his intimate acquaintance with the political intereſts of Europe. The interior of courts is ſeldom laid open till a ſeries of years has elapſed; and then the communication rather gratifies curioſity, than increaſes the ſtock of uſeful knowledge. Of the motives for the new arrangements, or the manner in which they were effected, but little can at preſent with certainty be ſpoken.

On what grounds the intentions of the court were ſuſpected, we are ignorant; but not many days after the death of the Marquis, a meeting of the Rockingham party was convened by Mr. Fox, the avowed object of which was, to defeat the appointment of Lord Shelburne to the ſituation of prime miniſter. At this meeting it was agreed,

to

to ſupport the nomination of the Duke of Portland to the firſt office in the treaſury, and that Mr. Fox ſhould wait on his Majeſty with this reſolve. It is ſaid, that Mr. Fox arrived at the royal cloſet only in time to learn, that the treaſurer's ſtaff had juſt been committed to the hands of Lord Shelburne.—It is added, that Mr. Fox then requeſted leave to name the new ſecretary of ſtate; and, on being informed that the office was already diſpoſed of, he requeſted permiſſion to reſign, and was followed by Lord John Cavendiſh, the Duke of Portland, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. F. Montague, Lord Althorpe, Lord Duncannon, Mr. J. Townſhend, and Mr. Lee.

It would be trifling with the public, to attempt to diſguiſe the nature of this tranſaction, however partial we may feel to ſome of the perſons principally concerned. It was a conteſt for power, in which paſſion, more than reaſon and patriotiſm, had a ſhare; and impartial poſterity will ſee much to blame in the conduct of both parties. If the ſituation was ſought for by Lord Shelburne, he was wrong to aſk it without conſulting his colleagues, and without taking the proper meaſures to ſecure that unanimity among the Whig party which could alone maintain their authority: if, on the other hand, the overtures to his Lordſhip came from any other quarter, he ought to have remembered that Lord Chatham had complained of ſecret influence, and that there might be perſons whoſe intention, in adviſing the appointment, might be to ſecure themſelves by the ruin of their opponents. On the contrary, Mr. Fox ought to have recollected, that his party, weakened and diminiſhed as it was, could not act with efficiency in oppoſition to the court; and that to deſert his old connexions was infallibly to throw himſelf into the hands of

that pernicious faction, to combat which had been the great buſineſs of his life. His reſignation was precipitate; and had he acted with leſs raſhneſs, the voice of the nation muſt before long have crowned his utmoſt wiſhes with ſucceſs.

The Shelburne adminiſtration was reſpectable, but it was feeble: it wanted both parliamentary intereſt and parliamentary ability. The talents of the Noble Lord who preſided over it will not admit of a diſpute; but, even in this reſpect, he was not well ſupported. Lord Grantham, a nobleman more diſtinguiſhed by his amiable character than by the extent of his abilities, ſucceeded to the office of Mr. Fox; and Mr. T. Townſhend was appointed to that which Lord Shelburne had juſt vacated. In the ſplendid and claſſical eloquence of Mr. W. Pitt, who was made chancellor of the exchequer, his Lordſhip doubtleſs conſidered himſelf as having found a powerful ally; but his character was ſcarcely ſufficiently matured and eſtabliſhed; and being totally deſtitute of parliamentary influence, he was able to afford his principal little of that ſupport in which the adminiſtration was moſt eſſentially deficient. Earl Temple ſucceeded the Duke of Portland in the viceroyalty of Ireland.

By Mr. Fox and his adherents, their reſignation was attributed to a difference of opinion which was ſaid to prevail in the cabinet, relative to an immediate declaration of the independence of America; and Lord Shelburne himſelf afforded ſome colour to this aſſertion, by repeating in the houſe of lords a declaration which he had formerly made, "that whenever the parliament of "Great Britain ſhould acknowledge the inde-"pendence of America, the ſun of England's "glory was ſet for ever."—The other members of

the cabinet who continued in place, however, General Conway and the Duke of Richmond in particular, declared, that no departure whatever was intended from the public meaſures reſolved on by the Rockingham adminiſtration. On the 9th of July a debate having ariſen concerning a penſion which had been granted to Colonel Barré, and another to Lord Aſhburton; theſe topics were urged on both ſides with conſiderable vehemence. Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox both admitted that they had concurred in the grant of theſe penſions, but deſired it to be remarked, that the only favours which had been conferred, and the only deviations which had been permitted from the principles of œconomy by the Rockingham adminiſtration, had been in favour of the friends of Lord Shelburne. On this ſubject it may be proper to remark, that penſions could ſcarcely have been more deſervedly conferred than thoſe in queſtion; but neither did the ſtate of the public finances authoriſe any unneceſſary grants of the public money, nor was it in the leaſt conſiſtent with the public profeſſions of the Whig party, who had ſo frequently and ſo energetically declaimed againſt penſions in general, to countenance, in any inſtance, what is in moſt a glaring abuſe.

The parliamentary ſeſſion, however, terminated peaceably for the new miniſtry, and left them in the full poſſeſſion of their power, till at leaſt the ſucceeding meeting of parliament.—The King's ſpeech at the prorogation, which took place on the 11th of July, touched only on the uſual topics; and it was remarked, that every alluſion to the interior politics of the country was cautiouſly avoided.

Though Lord Shelburne declared, that he had been uniformly averſe to the independence of

America; he took occaſion, in one of the latter debates in the houſe of lords, to obſerve, that he now conſidered it as a neceſſary evil to which the country muſt ſubmit, to avoid a greater: and his Majeſty, in his ſpeech, had intimated his intention of employing *every means* for the reſtoration of peace. In conſequence therefore of the views which were entertained by the miniſtry, and in conformity with the conciliatory votes of the houſe of commons, both armies remained in a ſtate of total inactivity in North America; and the only circumſtance which occurred worth relating during the whole campaign, was an intemperate act of inhumanity, which, but for the prudence of the reſpective commanders, would probably have involved both the Britiſh and Americans in a ſucceſſion of cruelties, under the plea of retaliation.

We have already ſeen too much reaſon to deplore the unhappy exceſſes into which both Whigs and Tories were occaſionally betrayed, by the violence of that party ſpirit, againſt which reaſon and humanity too commonly contend in vain. It was, therefore, among the groſs errors of the old adminiſtration, to permit the Loyaliſts, who were collected at New York, to form themſelves into an aſſociation for the purpoſes of retaliating on the Americans, and for reimburſing the loſſes they had ſuſtained from their countrymen. Such an inſtitution was certain to be attended with the worſt effects; and it was not long before the fruits of this puerile policy fatally appeared.

In the latter end of March, Captain Joſhua Huddy, who commanded at a blockhouſe, in Monmouth county, New Jerſey, was taken by a party of theſe refugees, after a gallant reſiſtance. He was carried priſoner to New York; and after being detained there fifteen days, he was carried

out to the heights of Middleton, and there hanged, in retaliation, as was pretended, for a Philip White, a priſoner who had ſome time before been ſhot, in attempting his eſcape, by a party of the Jerſey militia.

As it was of the utmoſt importance to prevent a repetition of ſuch illegal proceedings, General Waſhington determined to deſignate a Britiſh officer, as an object of retaliation, ſhould the Britiſh commander refuſe that ſatisfaction which ſuch an outrage demanded; but previous to this ſtep, he diſpatched a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, acquainting him with this determination, and intreating him that, to prevent the neceſſity of ſuch a meaſure, Captain Lippencutt, who commanded at the execution of Captain Huddy, or whoever was the delinquent, might be ſurrendered to juſtice.

The requeſt, with reſpect to Captain Lippencutt, was refuſed by Sir Henry Clinton, but he ordered that officer to be tried by a court-martial; and, in the mean time, General Waſhington perſiſted in his determination, but reſolved to wait the iſſue of the trial. In the courſe of the examination it appeared, that Captain Lippencutt had acted by verbal orders from Governor Franklin, as preſident of the board of aſſociated Loyaliſts, and he was therefore acquitted; a deciſion which appears conſiſtent with juſtice, as far as regards that officer; but certainly in ſuch a caſe the governor himſelf, or whoever was the actual delinquent with reſpect to the illegal execution of Huddy, ſhould have been given up. Diſappointed, therefore, in his views of obtaining what he accounted ſubſtantial juſtice, General Waſhington proceeded to ſelect an officer from among the Britiſh priſoners, of equal rank with the ſufferer, on whom

to retaliate. The fatal lot fell upon Captain Aſgill, the only ſon of Sir Charles Aſgill, a young man of great merit, and whoſe unfortunate ſituation excited univerſal compaſſion.—Fortunately, the arrival of Sir Guy Carleton at New York, and the prudent and conciliatory meaſures taken by that able and excellent commander, united with the humane interpoſition of the court of France, releaſed the American general from the diſagreeable neceſſity of proſecuting his firſt determination. Sir Guy Carleton, immediately on his arrival, diſſolved the board of aſſociated Loyaliſts, with the moſt unequivocal marks of diſapprobation and diſpleaſure. He employed every means to inſure the confidence and good opinion of the Americans. In the mean time, ſtrong interceſſion was made at the court of France in Captain Aſgill's favour, which was followed by a letter from the Count de Vergennes to General Waſhington, requeſting his pardon.—Before the cloſe of the year, therefore, Captain Aſgill was releaſed from his confinement, by an order of Congreſs, and returned once more, in ſafety, to the boſom of his dejected family.

In conſequence of the pacific views of the Britiſh government, meaſures were taken, towards the cloſe of the campaign, for abandoning all their conqueſts in the ſouthern ſtates. About the middle of July, Georgia was evacuated by the Britiſh forces; and on the 14th of December, they withdrew from Charleſtown, South Carolina; and the exiled inhabitants of theſe ſtates returned, after three years of ſuffering and perſecution, to their peaceful occupations.

The naval force of Britain ſuffered more, in the courſe of this campaign, from the inclemency of the

the elements, than from the efforts of the combined forces. On the 26th of July, Admiral Graves ſailed from Jamaica, with ſeven ſhips of the line, including the Ville de Paris and ſome others of the prizes, the Pallas frigate, of thirty-ſix guns, and about one hundred ſail of merchantmen.—The admiral had not been long at ſea, before the Hector, of ſeventy-four guns, one of the prizes, from her bad condition, loſt company with the fleet, and was never able afterwards to recover it. On the 8th of September, the Caton, of ſeventy-four guns, another of the French veſſels, ſprung a leak in a hard gale of wind; and the admiral was obliged to order both her and the Pallas, which was alſo leaky, to Halifax to refit. This, however, was only a prelude to their future misfortunes; for on 10th the fleet and convoy, which ſtill amounted to nearly ninety ſail, encountered, on the banks of Newfoundland, one of the moſt dreadful ſtorms which was ever known in that quarter. The hurricane increaſed during the night, and was accompanied with ſuch a deluge of rain that it was not poſſible for the ſeamen to face the inclemency of the weather. At ten o'clock in the morning, the Ramilies, the admiral's ſhip, had five feet water in her hold, and ſhe was obliged to part with ſeveral of her guns and other heavy articles, to enable her to keep afloat. About noon, the water in her hold increaſed to ten feet; but before that extremity, the admiral had ſummoned by ſignal the few merchant ſhips that were ſtill able to keep in company, and began to move the people on board them. About four o'clock, the water in the hold was increaſed to fifteen feet, and at the ſame period ſhe was ſo completely ſet on fire, that Captain Moriarty and the people had quitted her but a few minutes when ſhe blew up.

The fate of the Centaur was ſtill more dreadful than that of the Ramilies. Though prepared for the ſtorm, and under bare poles, it aſſailed her with ſuch violence that ſhe overſet. She was, however, righted, with the loſs of her maſts and rudder, and in this condition was, by the unwearied exertions of the crew, kept afloat till the 23d. But the ſtruggle was then at an end. In the middle of the vaſt Atlantic Ocean, ſeparated from all their companions, and from every chance of aſſiſtance, they obſerved the ſhip rapidly filling with water, while the aſpect of the ſea indicated that neither boat nor raft could live for any length of time. The five-oared yawl, which was the beſt boat, had been ſtaved; and at five o'clock in the afternoon, when Captain Inglefield came upon deck, ſuch was the general deſpair, that the majority of the crew had given themſelves up for loſt, and remained below. In this extremity the captain obſerved, that a few of the people had forced their way into the pinnace, and that others were preparing to follow. At this ſight, the deſire of exiſtence revived within him, and beckoning the maſter to follow, he threw himſelf into the boat, but found much difficulty in getting her clear of the ſhip's ſide, from the violence of the crowd that was preſſing to follow their example.—Of all theſe, Mr. Baylis only, a youth of ſeventeen, who threw himſelf into the waves, and ſwam after the boat, had the good fortune to be taken in.

The number of the perſons who were thus committed to the mercy of the waves, in a leaky boat, amidſt all the horrors of a moſt dreadful night, amounted to twelve. Their proviſions conſiſted of a bag of bread, a ſmall ham, a ſingle piece of pork, and a few French cordials; but of water

they

they had only one quart bottle. In addition to their ſufferings, the weather was extremely cold, and they were all thinly clothed, and without compaſs, quadrant, or ſail. Fortunately, in the courſe of the evening, a blanket which had been accidentally thrown in, was diſcovered, and they bent it to one of the ſtretchers as a ſail, and with it ſcudded through the night. In the morning they diſcovered, that the ſalt water had deſtroyed almoſt all their bread; and from this period they were reduced to the ſcanty allowance of two biſcuits a day each man; but this misfortune was in ſome ſmall degree compenſated by another diſcovery of a pair of ſheets which had been alſo accidentally thrown into the boat. By alternately ſpreading them to catch the rain, and wringing the water out, they were enabled to procure a few quarts of that neceſſary fluid; but the utmoſt allowance that even this ſtock would admit of their diſpenſing, was no more than the quarter of a pint a day to each man.

It would greatly exceed the limits which it is neceſſary to preſcribe to this hiſtory, to enter on a minute detail of the ſufferings of theſe unfortunate perſons. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that they were ſixteen days expoſed in this forlorn ſtate, when at length, their proviſion and water being totally exhauſted, they were happy enough to gain the Port of Fayal. The reſt of the crew, it is ſuppoſed, periſhed with the veſſel.

The Ville de Paris and the Glorieux ſeemed to weather the ſtorm, and were afterwards occaſionally obſerved in ſight.—They, however, after ſome days, loſt company with the fleet, and for a conſiderable period no intelligence whatever could be obtained concerning them. The public ſuſpenſe was at length relieved by a moſt ſingular accident.

accident. A Daniſh merchant ſhip, returning from the Weſt Indies, found a man floating upon a piece of a wreck, who appears to have been inſenſible when taken on board, and incapable of motion for ſome time after. When reſtored to his ſenſes, he reported that his name was Wilſon; that he had been a ſeaman on board the Ville de Paris; and added, that when ſhe was going to pieces, he clung to a part of the wreck, and remained in a ſtate of inſenſibility during moſt of the time that he continued in the water. He perfectly recollected that the Glorieux had foundered, and that he ſaw her go down on the day preceding that on which the Ville de Paris periſhed.

The Hector, after ſhe had parted from the fleet, was vigorouſly aſſailed by two of the enemy's frigates; and, after a deſperate engagement, they left her in ſo deplorable a condition, that the crew, after experiencing incredible hardſhips, were ſaved by the very unexpected chance of meeting with a merchant ſhip, the Hawke, commanded by Captain Hill, of Dartmouth, who humanely received them on board his own veſſel, and conveyed them to Newfoundland.

Thus, of the ſeven ſhips of the line which compoſed the Jamaica ſquadron, only two, the Canada and the Caton, eſcaped. The number of the merchant ſhips which were loſt in this ſtorm, was alſo conſiderable.

An accident leſs extenſive in its fatal conſequences, but more lamented, becauſe nearer home, occured nearly about the ſame period. The general neglect which pervaded the naval department under the adminiſtration of Lord Sandwich, extended from the lighteſt frigate to the firſt veſſels in the ſervice; and in conſequence of the

the radically bad ſtate of the ſhipping, when the fleet ſhould have been ready to ſail for the relief of Gibraltar, the Royal George, of one hundred and eight guns, commanded by the gallant and diſtinguiſhed Admiral Kempenfelt, and which had long been regarded as the fineſt ſhip in the navy, was found to be unfit for ſea. To avoid the delay of going into dock to refit, it was determined to give her a ſlight careen, by laying her to a certain degree on her ſide, while neither the guns, ſtores, nor proviſions, were removed; and while the admiral, officers, and crew, all continued on board. Beſides theſe, the ſhip was crowded with perſons from on ſhore, to the number, it is ſaid, of nearly three hundred, a conſiderable proportion of whom were women and children.

About ten in the morning, the carpenters began upon this undertaking; but finding the leak greater than was expected, the workmen were induced to give the veſſel a more conſiderable inclination than was at firſt believed neceſſary; and in this ſituation, a ſudden ſquall coming on, ſhe completely overſet, and the gun ports being open, ſuddenly filled with water, and went to the bottom: a victualler which lay alongſide, was ſwallowed up by the whirlpool which the ſudden plunge of ſo vaſt a body occaſioned. The admiral, the officers in general, and all who were between decks, periſhed; and the number of thoſe who were loſt in the whole, is eſtimated at from nine hundred to one thouſand. Admiral Kempenfelt, who was nearly ſeventy years of age, was peculiarly regretted, as he was univerſally allowed to be one of the firſt naval officers in the world. He was the ſon of a Swediſh gentleman, who had ſpent his life in the Britiſh ſervice, and had obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel and deputy-

deputy-governor of the iſland of Jerſey, in the reign of Queen Anne.—His private character was ſo amiable, that he is affirmed to have been the actual Captain Sentry, ſo admirably depicted by the pen of the inimitable Addiſon.

From theſe events, ſo adverſe to the fortunes of Britain, we may turn with ſome ſatisfaction to another ſcene, which will long be mentioned in the hiſtoric page, to the glory of our nation. On the 11th of September, Lord Howe ſailed to the relief of Gibraltar; but he did not arrive in time to partake of the honours which the brave garriſon achieved in reſiſting, perhaps, the moſt formidable attack that was ever made upon any fortreſs, both by land and ſea.

As the reduction of Gibraltar was a favourite object with the court of Spain, and indeed is generally conſidered as having furniſhed one of the ſtrongeſt motives for their engaging in the war, the Duke de Crillon, who had evinced ſo much energy and ability in the ſiege of Minorca, was, immediately after the reduction of Fort St. Philip's, appointed to the command of the forces before that place. With him was united M. d'Arçon, a French engineer of high reputation; and no time was loſt in forming the moſt effectual preparations for a grand attack. Beſides the batteries which were erected on every quarter on the land ſide, and the near approaches which were made to the fortreſs, a plan was formed for the conſtruction of a number of battering ſhips, which were intended to be incumbuſtible, and conſequently impregnable; and which were to be ſeconded by the co-operation of a moſt powerful fleet. From the latter end of June to the beginning of September, the beſiegers were inceſſantly employed upon theſe formidable preparations;

rations; and in the mean time, the Count d' Artois, the Duke of Bourbon, with a number of the firſt nobility of France and Spain, repaired to the army of the enemy, to be ſpectators of this important conteſt, and to participate in the glory which the ſanguine hopes of the combined courts had already confidently anticipated.

The conſtruction of the battering ſhips was apparently calculated to anſwer every effect that was expected from them. Theſe veſſels were ten in number, of different ſizes, from ſix hundred to one thouſand tons; and ſome of them mounted not leſs than from twenty to thirty heavy cannon on one ſide. To prevent the poſſibility of their being ſunk in the engagement, the keels and bottoms were fortified with an extraordinary thickneſs of timber; and to obviate the chance of their being ſet on fire, the ſides were covered with timber and cork which had been completely ſoaked in water, and including between them a quantity of wet ſand; the whole being of ſuch an immenſe thickneſs that no ball could penetrate within two feet of the inner ſurface. They were provided with a conſtant ſupply of water to keep the parts which were expoſed continually wet, by a number of pipes and canals which every where perforated the ſolid workmanſhip. To protect them from bombs and falling ſhot, a hanging roof was conſtructed of ſtrong rope netting and wet hides. The ſide which was not oppoſed to the garriſon was left open, and that part of the veſſel contained a number of ſpare guns to ſupply the loſs of thoſe which might happen to be diſmounted or otherwiſe injured in the conteſt.

It was the 12th of September before the whole of this immenſe preparation could be brought into

into action. On the morning of that day, reports were received that a large fleet had appeared from the weſtward, and the garriſon, who were indulging the fond expectation of relief from England, were ſoon confirmed in the diſpiriting information, that they were no other than the combined fleets of France and Spain, conſiſting of thirty-eight ſhips of the line, ſeven of which were three-deckers, with three frigates, a number of xebeques, bomb-ketches, and hoſpital ſhips: the whole commanded by ten admirals, and a broad pendant. The naval force of the enemy, previous to this reinforcement, amounted to nine ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, gun-boats, &c. not to ſpeak of the battering ſhips.

"This great accumulation of force (ſays the hiſtorian of the ſiege) "could not fail to ſurpriſe, "if not alarm, the garriſon. It appeared as if "they meant, previous to their final efforts, to "ſtrike, if poſſible, a terror through their op-"ponents, by diſplaying before them a more pow-"erful armament than had, probably, ever been "brought againſt any fortreſs. Forty-ſeven ſail "of the line, including three inferior two-deckers; "ten battering ſhips, deemed perfect in deſign, "and eſteemed invincible, carrying two hundred "and twelve guns; innumerable frigates, xebe-"ques, bomb-ketches, cutters, gun and mortar-"boats, and ſmaller craft for diſembarking men; "theſe were aſſembled in the bay. On the land ſide "were moſt ſtupendous and ſtrong batteries and "works, mounting two hundred pieces of heavy "ordnance, and protected by an army of near forty "thouſand men, and commanded by a victorious "and active general, of the higheſt reputation, and "animated with the immediate preſence of two "princes of the royal blood of France, with other "dignified perſonages, and many of their own nobility.

" nobility. Such a naval and military ſpectacle, " moſt certainly, is not to be equalled in the annals " of war. From ſuch a combination of power, and " favourable concurrent circumſtances, it was na- " tural enough that the nation ſhould anticipate the " moſt glorious conſequences. Indeed their con- " fidence in the effect to be produced by the bat- " tering ſhips, paſſed all bounds; and, in the en- " thuſiaſm excited by the magnitude of their pre- " parations, it was thought highly criminal even " to whiſper a doubt of the ſucceſs."

On the following morning the whole naval force of the enemy prepared for the attack. The ten battering ſhips moved from the Orange Grove, where they had been previouſly moored, and at a little after nine bore down in admirable order for their ſeveral ſtations. The admiral caſt anchor about nine hundred yards off the King's baſtion, and the others took their reſpective places to the right and left of the flag-ſhip; the moſt diſtant being about eleven or twelve hundred yards from the garriſon. They were all completely moored in leſs than ten minutes.

" The cannonade (ſays Captain Drinkwater, who was an eye-witneſs) " then became in a high de- " gree tremendous. The ſhowers of ſhot and ſhells " which were directed from their land-batteries, " the battering ſhips, and, on the other hand, " from the various works of the garriſon, exhi- " bited a ſcene of which, perhaps, neither the " pen nor the pencil can furniſh a competent " idea. It is ſufficient to ſay, that FOUR HUN- " DRED PIECES of the heavieſt artillery were " playing at the ſame moment: an inſtance which " has ſcarcely occurred in any ſiege, ſince the in- " vention of thoſe wonderful engines of deſtruc- " tion."

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The chief hope of the Spaniards depended upon the conſtruction of the battering ſhips being able to reſiſt the red-hot balls which were fired from the garriſon; and indeed it was ſcarcely to be imagined that any contrivance could have been diſcovered for heating ſuch an immenſe quantity of ſhot as would be required for their deſtruction; but the lieutenant-governor, Sir Robert Boyd, by whoſe recommendation this plan of defence was adopted, had employed the ruins of the houſes and other buildings as furnaces for this purpoſe; and the ſupply was adequate to every demand.

During the firſt part of the attack, the battering ſhips were found to be ſcarcely leſs formidable than they had been repreſented. The heavieſt ſhells rebounded from their roofs; the thirty-two-pound ſhot was incapable of making any impreſſion on their ſides; and the artillery ſeemed to loſe all confidence, even in the red-hot ſhot. For ſome hours but little effect was obſerved from the Engliſh ordnance; but ſoon after two o'clock in the afternoon, a ſmoke was ſeen to iſſue from the upper part of the flag-ſhip, and it continued to increaſe, notwithſtanding the conſtant application of water. It was not long before the admiral's ſecond appeared to partake in his misfortune. A general diſorder ſoon became apparent in ſeveral of the veſſels before evening. Their fire ſlackened by degrees, and, towards ſeven or eight o'clock, almoſt entirely ceaſed to annoy the garriſon.

During the courſe of the night, the rockets which were thrown from the ſhipping as ſignals of diſtreſs, the indiſtinct clamours, the cries of lamentation, and above all a piece of a wreck with twelve men, which floated in, ſerved to aſſure the garriſon

garriſon that their victory was complete. An hour after midnight the admiral's ſhip appeared one entire blaze; the ſhip to the ſouthward was alſo in flames, but did not burn with quite ſo much rapidity. Between two and three o'clock, ſix others of the battering ſhips appeared on fire; while the general illumination which they afforded enabled the Britiſh artillery to point their guns with the moſt unerring preciſion.

The approach of day, and the abating of the fire from the garriſon, afforded an opportunity to Captain Curtis, who commanded the marine force of the Britiſh, for an equal diſplay of his valour and his humanity. He approached with his gun-boats, as well to complete the deſtruction of the battering ſhips, as to reſcue the wretched remains of their crews from inevitable death. It was with ſome difficulty that theſe unfortunate perſons could be perſuaded to quit the ſhips, as they expected no quarter from their conquerors; but ſome, more acquainted with Britiſh generoſity than the reſt, ſet the example of ſubmiſſion, and nearly four hundred were ſaved, by the benevolent exertions of the marine brigade.

About five o'clock in the morning, one of the battering ſhips to the northward blew up, with a dreadful exploſion, and was ſoon followed by one in the centre of the line; one ſunk; three others blew up before eleven o'clock, and three burned to the water's edge, the magazines and powder having been carefully wetted before the captains and crews quitted them. One of theſe ſingular veſſels the garriſon made ſtrong exertions to preſerve, as a trophy of the victory; but ſhe unexpectedly blew up, almoſt at the moment that the conquerors were endeavouring to reſcue her from the flames.

The loſs of the enemy was never aſcertained. From the information of priſoners, and the numbers which were obſerved dead and wounded in the ſhips, however, it muſt have been conſiderable; probably not leſs than two thouſand, including the priſoners. The loſs of the garriſon, on the contrary, was trivial, and amounted by the return only to ſixteen killed, and ſixty-eight wounded. The works alſo, notwithſtanding the weight of the enemy's artillery, and the heavy and continued cannonade, were but ſlightly damaged.

After this ſignal defenſive victory, the hopes of the enemy appeared to reſt on their naval exertions; and their fleet remained in the bay till the beginning of October, notwithſtanding it was well known that Lord Howe had been at ſea for ſome time. On the night of the 10th of October, a violent gale ſprung up from the weſtward, and the combined fleet appeared in great confuſion and diſtreſs. The St. Michael, a fine new ſhip of ſeventy-two guns, ran on ſhore near the ſouth baſtion; her commander, Don Juan Moreno, and the crew, in number ſix hundred and thirty-four, were made priſoners by the boats of the garriſon; and the veſſel was afterwards got off, by the exertions of the captors. Another ſhip of the line ran on ſhore near Algeziras, and ſeveral were damaged.

On the morning that ſucceeded the ſtorm, the van of the Britiſh fleet arrived in the bay; but the anxiety of the garriſon was not removed, when they learned the great inferiority of the Britiſh admiral. The combined fleet conſiſted of forty-two ſail of the line, while Lord Howe's force did not exceed thirty-four. A ſeries of manœuvres ſucceeded between the two fleets, in the courſe of which, it was frequently in the power of the enemy to force Lord Howe to

action, as they had the weather-gage. On the 20th a partial engagement took place, in which no ſhip was taken; the enemy cautiouſly avoided a cloſe action, and in the evening retreated. After this, the Britiſh admiral, finding that they were averſe to engage, except upon the moſt obvious advantage, and having completely effected the relief of Gibraltar, returned home, after detaching a part of his fleet to the Weſt Indies.

The reſolutions which had paſſed in the courſe of the parliamentary ſeſſion, ſufficiently evinced that the original object of the war, as far as reſpected America, was completely relinquiſhed on the part of Great Britain; and as the experience of the laſt campaign did not afford much encouragement to the combined powers to hope for any thing beyond the accompliſhment of that point, they became equally diſpoſed to pacific meaſures; and theſe were not retarded, but, perhaps, rather promoted by the ill ſucceſs of the allies againſt Gibraltar. A negociation for peace was opened at Paris, in the courſe of the ſummer, under the mediation of the Emperor of Germany and the Empreſs of Ruſſia. Mr. Grenville had been previouſly diſpatched thither to arrange the grand outline of preliminaries with the court of France; and, ſoon after, Mr. Fitzherbert, the miniſter at Bruſſels, was appointed plenipotentiary on the part of Great Britain, to conclude the treaty with the miniſters of France, Spain, and Holland; and Mr. Oſwald, a merchant, who had been long converſant in American affairs, was nominated as commiſſioner from his Britannic Majeſty, to treat with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, the commiſſioners from the United States of America.

The intriguing ſpirit of the French court was completely manifeſted in the courſe of the negociation. To detach the Americans as ſubjects from Great Britain, was the object for which France entered into the war; to detach them finally as allies, was the great point to be carried in the formation of a treaty of peace. Every effort was made to create a permanent jealouſy between Britain and America; and, ſtrange as it may appear, the miniſters of France affected to favour, in the negociation, the claims of the Britiſh miniſters, rather than thoſe of America. The people of Great Britain have been generally tenacious of the right of fiſhing in the northern quarters of the Atlantic; and the people of the New England States had determined on the full enjoyment of that right. The boundaries which the American commiſſioners claimed, were alſo objected to by England; and, in both theſe objections, ſhe was ſupported by France; and the confidential ſecretary of the Count de Vergennes was diſpatched to exhort Lord Shelburne to perſiſt in his refuſal. The Britiſh miniſter was not without a confidential friend upon the ſpot, a man of uncommon talents, and of the moſt cool ſagacity. By conferring with the American commiſſioners, this gentleman was enabled to penetrate the inſidious deſigns of the French court; he travelled poſt to acquaint his friend with the real ſtate of the negociation; and Lord Shelburne had the diſcernment to ſee that conceſſions to America in theſe points, were the immediate intereſt of Great Britain, though not of France; and that the great object of alarm to this latter power was, leſt America ſhould once more become the friend and ally of her ancient connexion.

Theſe

These differences being adjusted, on the 30th of November provisional articles were signed by the British and American commissioners, which were to be inserted in the general treaty of peace, whenever it should be concluded between the European powers. By these articles, the independence of America was acknowledged in the fullest extent: very ample boundaries were assigned to the States, comprehending the extensive countries on both sides of the Ohio, and on the east of the Mississippi: the full right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, and in all places where both nations had been accustomed to fish, was conceded. One of the most exceptionable articles was the sacrifice of the loyalists; but this arose from the necessity of the case, as their restoration could not be effected by any act of Congress, but must have been acceded to by the legislature of every individual state.

The operations of war, which in Europe and America were suspended by the negociations for peace, were continued in the East Indies with unabated vigour during the whole course of the year.

After the reduction of Trincomalé, Sir Edward Hughes was obliged to return to Madras, with his squadron, which consisted of only six ships of the line, and these in much want of repair, and their crews much weakened by sickness. Upon his arrival in the road, on the 8th of February, he received intelligence from Lord Macartney, the governor, that a French fleet amounting to thirty sail, which afterwards proved to be that of M. de Suffrein, had arrived off the coast, and had captured several vessels. In this critical situation, it was most fortunate for the admiral, that he was joined on the 9th by a reinforcement of two ships

of the line, and the Iſis of fifty guns. On the 15th the French admiral appeared in the offing, with ten ſail of the line, beſides the Hannibal, which he had captured from the Engliſh a few days before, and another large 50, ſix frigates, eight tranſports and ſix prize veſſels. While the Engliſh fleet were making the neceſſary arrangements for defence, the French admiral, contrary to every appearance and expectation, ſuddenly dropped anchor four miles without the road. This immediate change of deſign is, with great probability, attributed to the ſudden diſcovery of the ſtrength of the Engliſh ſquadron, as the French admiral was, it appeared, previouſly unacquainted with the reinforcement; and ſuch was the effect of the diſcovery, that M. Suffrein, at four in the afternoon, weighed anchor, and ſtood to the ſouthward. He was immediately followed by the Engliſh admiral; and the French fleet being conſiderably diſperſed in the courſe of the night, five of the Engliſh prizes were retaken, on the following morning, with a moſt valuable French tranſport, containing a variety of preſents, chiefly of a military kind, deſigned for the ſovereign of Myſore. An indeciſive engagement enſued, in which the Engliſh ſquadron having received much damage, the admiral judged it prudent to proceed immediately for Trincomalé.

Before the middle of March, Sir Edward Hughes was enabled to reviſit Madras; and as he was proceeding to Trincomalé with a reinforcement of troops, and a ſupply of ſtores for the garriſon, he was joined by two more ſhips of the line. As the convoy from England, with troops and ſtores, was hourly expected, Sir Edward kept on his courſe, with a view to cover and protect them, determined neither to ſeek nor to avoid an engagement.

engagement. On the 12th of April, he was met by M. Suffrein, with twelve ſail of the line, while the force of the Britiſh amounted to no more than eleven.—An action took place, the moſt bloody, in proportion to the number of ſhips, which had been fought during the war. The loſs of the French was one hundred and thirty-nine killed, and three hundred and ſixty-four wounded; and that of the Engliſh, one hundred and forty-four killed, and four hundred and thirty wounded. No ſhip was taken on either ſide; and the damage was ſo nearly equal, that the hoſtile commanders lay for ſeveral days within ſight of each other repairing their ſhips, and without being able on either ſide to renew the action. At length, the French admiral was enabled to proceed to Batacolo, a Dutch port in the iſland of Ceylon, and Sir Edward Hughes to Trincomalé.

Theſe indeciſive actions had nearly the effect of victories to the Engliſh, as Hyder Ally was diſappointed by them of the ſtrong co-operation of the French fleet with his exertions by land; and, in the beginning of the year, he experienced another check on the Malabar coaſt, which ſerved to protract at leaſt the conſummation of his extenſive deſigns. Tellicherry, which had been inveſted by Hyder's forces, almoſt from the commencement of the war, was effectually relieved by Major Abingdon, and Saddos Cawn, a diſtinguiſhed general, completely defeated, with a great ſlaughter.

This ſevere repulſe, however, Hyder had ſoon an opportunity of revenging on the banks of the Coleroon, where Colonel Braithwaite commanded a ſelect detachment, which was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Southern Army. Though his force was not great, his troops were

excellent, conſiſting of two thouſand tried infantry, and two hundred and fifty cavalry, with thirteen pieces of cannon; but his ſituation in an open country, where there were no advantageous poſts to ſecure a retreat, expoſed him to conſiderable danger, ſhould he be aſſailed by an enemy who was well provided with cavalry for the attack. This ſituation did not eſcape the penetration of Tippoo Saib, who, accompanied by M. Lally, with four hundred French, and about twenty thouſand native forces, more than half of whom were cavalry, attacked the colonel with ſo much vigour, from the ſixteenth to the eighteenth of February, that he completely defeated the Engliſh forces, the wretched remains of which, after a dreadful carnage of their companions, were compelled to ſurrender as priſoners of war.

This unfortunate event is ſaid to have entirely diſconcerted Sir Eyre Coote's plan of the campaign. In the courſe of the month of March, a conſiderable body of troops, collected from the iſlands, had been diſembarked by M. Suffrein at Pondicherry, and being joined by a large detachment of Hyder's army, the combined enemy marched to Cuddalore, on the coaſt of Coromandel, which they reduced on the 8th of April, as well as Permacoil, in a few days after.

The combined forces, after theſe ſucceſſes, proceeded to the ſiege of Vandiwaſh, which, however, was fortunately ſaved, by the alacrity with which Sir Eyre Coote marched to its relief. After a variety of ſtratagems to induce Hyder to meet him fairly in the field, the Engliſh general ſucceeded, on the 2d of June, in drawing the wary Muſſulman from a ſtrong poſition on the Red Hills, by a feigned movement, which indicated an intention of attacking the fortreſs of Arnee,

where

where Hyder's military ſtores were depoſited. The Aſiatic forces were, as uſual, routed, by the ſkill and diſcipline of the Europeans; but the want of cavalry diſabled the Britiſh commander from purſuing his advantage. Hyder Ally therefore ſtill kept the field, and in the courſe of ſix days was enabled to draw a body of the Engliſh forces into an ambuſcade, who were entirely cut off, before they could receive ſupport from the main army.

The battle of the 2d of June was the laſt in which theſe two great commanders were perſonally engaged. The ill ſtate of Sir Eyre Coote's health obliged him to relinquiſh the command; and his illuſtrious rival, worn out by continued fatigue, and by diſappointed ambition, did not long ſurvive his defeat. All parties have united in paying a voluntary homage to the merit and ability of Hyder Ally; and if the report be deſerving of credit, that he raiſed himſelf to ſuch a pitch of eminence, from the degraded ſituation of a common laſcar, in the ſervice of the India Company, his elevation muſt be accounted among the rareſt of thoſe political phænomena which the annals of hiſtory preſent for the aſtoniſhment or inſtruction of mankind. Diſmiſſing, however, every circumſtance which is not warranted by deciſive authority; to have riſen from a private ſtation, to be the firſt potentate on the vaſt continent of India, is ſufficient to excite the ſurpriſe, not only of the preſent generation, but of poſterity. The vaſt ſcope of his deſigns correſponded with the extent of that genius which gave them birth. His views, it is confidently aſſerted, were no leſs than to eſtabliſh himſelf and family in the full authority of the Mogul Emperors. He had already ſucceeded in the formation of ſuch a native military power as India had never beheld, and

was

was thought incapable of producing; and this was to have been followed by a naval force, which ſhould equally ſecure to him a monopoly of the whole commerce of Aſia. Theſe deſigns were fruſtrated by the ſingular abilities of the Engliſh commanders in that quarter of the globe, and by thoſe embarraſſments which prevented his allies, the French, from fully co-operating for their promotion.

It is not eaſy to determine whether the genius of Hyder was moſt conſpicuous as a conſummate general, or as a ſound and judicious politician. In the latter character, his ability was diſplayed in managing the inteſtine diviſions of the Mahratta empire, the only native power capable of contending with him, and in attaching to his intereſts a number of independent ſtates, who had more reaſon to be apprehenſive of his power, than aſſiduous in promoting its increaſe.

In private life, Hyder Ally was a ſingular inſtance of humility and moderation. He affected nothing of that unmeaning pomp and ſecluded dignity ſo characteriſtic of the oriental potentates. He converſed with cheerfulneſs and affability with all viſitors, and with his own ſubjects; and, though poſſeſſed of the moſt deſpotic power, his internal government was, in general, characterized by juſtice, temper, and prudence.

As his own education had not been the moſt liberal, he endeavoured to rectify that deficiency with reſpect to his ſon and ſucceſſor, Tippoo Saib. This prince was early inſtructed, not only in the various branches of oriental ſcience, but even in the modern European arts and languages; and, whatever may be his diſpoſition and character in other reſpects, he is univerſally allowed to be one of the moſt accompliſhed princes in the world.

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We have been led to anticipate a little the order of events, becauſe from this period the celebrated Hyder Ally no longer appears an active perſonage in hiſtory; though it is generally believed, that he did not conclude his mortal career till the month of December. The remainder of the year was chiefly conſumed in naval conteſts. The French fleet, early in June, ſailed from Batacolo to Cuddalore, and, after undergoing a complete repair, appeared on the 5th of July before Negapatam, where Sir Edward Hughes then was, to challenge their enemies. The Britiſh admiral did not ſhrink from the ſummons, and on the ſucceeding morning commenced a cloſe action with his antagoniſts. Both fleets ſuffered greatly, and at night anchored not far from each other; but in the morning the French bore away for Cuddalore, while the Engliſh were ſo damaged in their rigging, as to be unable to give them chace.

After ſome time, the Engliſh ſquadron proceeded to Madras, where they were joined by the Sceptre, of ſixty-four guns, which was one of a ſquadron under the command of Sir Richard Bickerton, then on its way to the Eaſt Indies. But while they continued in this place to undergo the neceſſary repairs, M. Suffrein had received a reinforcement, and before the end of Auguſt had recaptured Trincomalé. It was the 2d of September before Sir Edward Hughes was enabled to arrive at that place; and the next morning the French commander came out of the bay to offer him battle, with fifteen ſhips of the line, including three fifties; while the Britiſh force amounted to no more than twelve, including one fifty. The conteſt was again obſtinate and bloody; but the French admiral having loſt both his mizen and main

main maſts, in the ſeamen's phraſe "hauled his wind" at ſeven in the evening, and with his whole fleet took refuge in Trincomalé. The loſs of the Engliſh in this action was ſmall, compared with that of the enemy, as it did not exceed fifty-four killed, and two hundred and eighty-three wounded. M. Suffrein alſo loſt a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, as he entered the harbour of Trincomalé in the night. About the 20th of September, the reinforcement under Sir Richard Bickerton arrived at Madras, and conſiſted of five ſhips of the line, with five thouſand land forces.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting, a moſt advantageous peace was concluded with the Mahrattas, through the mediation of Madagee Scindia. The governments of Bengal and Bombay, therefore, being releaſed from the embarraſſments of the Mahratta war, were enabled to make a formidable diverſion on the Malabar ſide; and Colonel Humberſtone made a conſiderable progreſs in the interior parts of the country, before Tippoo Saib, even by forced marches, was enabled to oppoſe him. In the month of November, the detachment of Colonel Humberſtone was vigorouſly attacked by Tippoo Saib and M. Lally; but the aſſailants, notwithſtanding a great ſuperiority of numbers, were gallantly repulſed; and Tippoo, ſoon after receiving notice of his father's deceaſe, or indiſpoſition at leaſt, haſtily abandoned the Malabar coaſt.

1783. The news of Hyder's deceaſe was no ſooner conveyed to Bombay, than General Matthews was diſpatched by the preſidency to the kingdom of Canara, with a view of reducing its capital Bednore, where the principal treaſures of the Sultan, together with his military ſtores, were ſuppoſed to be depoſited.

In

In the progreſs of the Britiſh troops, the forts of Onore, Cundapore, and Anampore, were taken; and, if we may credit report, a moſt wanton, indiſcriminate, and cruel ſlaughter was made in cold blood, both at the former and the latter of theſe places. On the approach of the Britiſh general towards Bednore, the Indian governor, Hyatt Saib, who was conſcious of the weakneſs of the place, and unwilling that ſo beautiful a city ſhould be deſtroyed by a general pillage, entered into a negociation; and, it is univerſally believed, delivered up the town on an honourable capitulation. Contrary to the expreſs articles of the treaty, however, the General impriſoned Hyatt Saib, and committed a ſeries of the moſt ſingular irregularities that remain upon record. A large ſum of money, which was found in the durbar, was ſecreted under different pretences; and Colonels Macleod and Humberſtone, with Major Shaw, the principal of the King's officers in the detachment, conceived themſelves ſo injuriouſly treated, that (fortunately for them) they quitted the army, and returned to Bombay in diſguſt.

From Bednore, General Matthews proceeded to Mangalore, which, after a ſhort ſiege, ſurrendered on the 9th of March, 1783. The rapid ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in this quarter, however, ſoon obliged Tippoo Saib, now Tippoo Sultan, to reſume his natural activity; and abandoning the Carnatic, he marched, without loſs of time, at the head of an army of one hundred thouſand, for the recovery of Bednore. With the ſame raſhneſs which had characteriſed all his operations, General Matthews marched out with his handful of men, to give battle to Tippoo on the open plain. He was defeated with a great ſlaughter; and the ſmall remains of his detachment took ſhelter in the fort of Bednore. After a ſiege of three

three weeks they ſurrendered by capitulation to Tippoo. They were to retain their private property, but to reſtore all that was public. Actuated unfortunately by the ſame principle of avarice that had diſgraced the whole of their conduct, the officers took advantage of the ambiguity of this article to divide among themſelves the whole of the immenſe treaſure which they had captured at Bednore. The deception did not eſcape the penetration of the Sultan, who probably was not diſpleaſed at finding a plea for annulling the articles of capitulation. The general, the ſtaff officers, and all the captains, were haſtily cited before the conqueror, and, after a ſecret examination, were put under cloſe confinement; and, it is generally believed, were barbarouſly murdered. The reſt of the troops ſuffered a ſevere impriſonment, from which they were only relieved by the general peace. Cundapore fell into the hands of the victor ſoon after the unfortunate battle which decided the fate of the enterpriſe; but Mangalore, Carwar, and Onore, bravely reſiſted the almoſt overwhelming force of Tippoo, and were relieved by the news of the peace, which arrived in the month of July.

Sir Eyre Coote had gone by ſea to Bengal for the recovery of his health; and, while he was on his return to Madras, the veſſel which conveyed him being chaced for forty-eight hours by two French men of war, the ſolicitude and fatigue which he experienced, produced a relapſe, and he died on the 26th of April, the day after his arrival.

The death of the commander in chief did not prevent the Britiſh from forming the ſiege of Cuddalore. It was inveſted by General Stuart, in the beginning of June; and at the ſame time it was cloſely

cloſely blockaded by Sir Edward Hughes. On the 20th of June, M. Suffrein advanced with ſeventeen ſhips of the line, while the whole complement of the Britiſh admiral was only fifteen. An indeciſive engagement enſued, which laſted three hours, and in which the Britiſh loſt ninety-nine men killed, and had four hundred and thirty-one wounded. The French retired in the night to Pondicherry; and thus ended this deſperate courſe of naval warfare in the Indies, as this was the fifth and laſt battle in which the rival admirals were engaged. The ſiege of Cuddalore continued till information from Europe of the general peace put an end to all hoſtilities in India.

To return to the affairs of Europe. The preliminary articles between Great Britain and France were ſigned at Verſailles by Mr. Fitzherbert and the Count de Vergennes; and thoſe with Spain on the ſame day, by the ſame plenipotentiary, on the part of England, and the Count D'Aranda on the part of his Moſt Catholic Majeſty. By the former of theſe treaties, the fiſhery on the coaſt of Newfoundland was permitted to the French, from Cape St. John, on the eaſtern ſide, round the north of the iſland, to Cape Ray on the weſt;—the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded by Great Britain, in full right, to France. In the Weſt Indies, Great Britain ceded alſo the iſland of Tobago, and reſtored that of St. Lucia. In Africa the river Senegal, and all its dependencies and forts, were ceded, and the iſland of Goree reſtored to the French. In the Eaſt Indies England reſtored all her conqueſts. The articles alſo relative to the port and harbour of Dunkirk, eſtabliſhed at the peace of Utrecht, were by the new treaty annulled.

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In return for these concessions, France restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, in the West Indies—and in Africa, the possession of Fort James, and the river Gambia, were guaranteed to Great Britain.

By the treaty with Spain, Great Britain relinquished all right and claim to West Florida and the island of Minorca, and ceded the province of East Florida: on the other side, the Bahama islands were restored to Great Britain.

A suspension of arms only was agreed to with the Dutch, and it was some months before the preliminaries were settled.

Thus ended the most unfortunate war, in whic Great Britain had hitherto ever been engaged: a war commenced in the very wantonness of pride and folly—a war which had for its object, to deprive America of those very rights for which our ancestors had gloriously contended—a war, the professed object of which was to levy a tax which would not have paid the collectors—a war, conducted with the same weakness and incapacity on the part of the British ministry, with which it was commenced; which might, in the early stages of the dispute, have been avoided by the slightest concessions, or by amicable negociation; and which might frequently have been terminated with honour, but for the incorrigible obstinacy and unparalleled folly of the worst administration that ever disgraced this country. This deplorable war, which ended in so considerable a dismemberment of the British empire, cost the nation more money than the ever-memorable campaigns of Marlborough, and the still more glorious war of Lord Chatham—more indeed than all the wars in which Great Britain had been engaged, from the Revolution to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

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The peace, conſidering the wretched ſituation to which the injudicious politics of North and Sandwich had reduced the nation, was certainly advantageous, beyond the hopes of the moſt diſcerning politicians. Except America, nothing was ſurrendered which could be of eſſential advantage to the commerce, revenue, or proſperity of this country; and we recovered all our moſt valuable poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies, which the fortune of war had thrown into the hands of our enemies.

The peace was, however, deſtined to undergo a ſevere examination.—By that party who had been the real authors of whatever diſadvantages it brought, every deſpicable art was employed to foment the paſſions of the vulgar, and to excite and alarm every malignant prejudice. The people of England are, unfortunately, ever prone to war; and the body of men who gain by the diſtreſſes of the nation, the contractors, commiſſaries, factors, agents, and ſtock-jobbers, are opulent, and poſſeſs a fatal influence in the country. The clamours of this race of plunderers and their dependants, are generally more vehement and impetuous, than the cries of the widow, the orphan, and the poor! But the circumſtance which operated moſt againſt the true intereſt of the nation on this occaſion was, the fatal diſunion which had happened among the leaders of the Whig party, and unhappily the inſidious exertions of the faction, who poſſeſſed no ability beyond that of promoting diſſention among their adverſaries, were too ſucceſsful. The late miniſtry, who had forfeited every claim to indulgence or lenity from the people, had every thing to loſe from a reunion of the Whigs, and every thing to gain from a continuance of the preſent ſchiſm. Negociations were propoſed by the friends of Lords North, Sandwich, &c. with the leaders

both of the Shelburne and Portland parties; and overtures made ſucceſſively to each. All that could be obtained from the noble lord at the head of adminiſtration, it is ſaid, was a promiſe of indemnity, and a proviſion for ſome friends in the inferior departments of office. The Portland party, unhappily for their own reputation, and the intereſts of their country, were leſs on their guard againſt the ſnares laid for them; their conceſſions were more extenſive; they were contented to admit the delinquents on a footing of equality: dignity, patriotiſm, and political principle, were at once ſacrificed to their reſentments.

The immunity which, by theſe tranſactions, Lord North and his aſſociates obtained, was a fatal precedent to this country. The officer who ſurrenders a ſingle town, or who loſes a frigate, is ſubmitted to the rigorous inquiſition of a court-martial; but the miniſters who loſt thirteen of the moſt flouriſhing colonies eſcaped with impunity, and even with triumph.—The encouragement which ſuch a precedent extends to future miniſters, to commence unneceſſary wars, to laviſh the treaſures of the nation, and to load with oppreſſive taxes the induſtrious part of the community, is calculated to have the moſt pernicious effects. The excuſe on which theſe corrupt miniſters founded their claim to impunity is, in reality, an aggravation of their guilt. The parliamentary ſanction which they pleaded to their meaſures, never can be an exculpation. It is before the nation, and not merely before the parliament, that miniſters are guilty or innocent. The houſe of commons is a fluctuating body, the nation is permanent. The houſe of commons is, indeed, the legal organ of the nation, for the time being, to conduct impeachments againſt ſtate delinquents; but

but they can proſecute only in the name of the commons of Great Britain, and of the individuals who compoſe the repreſentative body the nation is ſuppoſed to know nothing after their term of ſervice has ceaſed. If the plea, that the ſanction of parliament exculpates miniſters, be juſt, then no miniſter has been culpable ſince the Revolution: then that very act which is the greateſt legal crime of which a miniſter could be guilty, was it proved againſt him, the corruption of parliament, would defeat all inquiry into his criminality: then, was it poſſible for a miniſter to acquire an unfair influence in the houſe of commons, either by the preponderating power of an ariſtocratical intereſt, or by direct venality, he would be no longer reſponſible, however the acts of his adminiſtration might affect the liberties or the welfare of the nation. The idea involves inconſiſtency and ſoleciſm of the groſſeſt kind. The miniſter is undoubtedly reſponſible for his conduct, however it may have been ſanctioned by parliament. It is upon his recommendation, upon his ſtatement, upon his *faith*, that particular meaſures are adopted; and however upon *theſe grounds* they may approve, the reſponſibility of adminiſtration cannot poſſibly be deſtroyed.—It is not, indeed, deſtroyed, even in the moſt deſpotic countries, where we behold every day delinquent miniſters brought to condign puniſhment, for the ill advice by which they have deluded the ſovereign, and injured the ſtate.

The nation at firſt obſerved the apparent connexion between Lord North and Mr. Fox, with ſceptical aſtoniſhment: the poſſibility of it was doubted; and, though it might be ſuppoſed that they would probably unite, in order to effect the diſplacing of the preſent miniſters, ſtill it could not be credited, that the latter of theſe ſtateſmen could ever coaleſce in adminiſtration with the man whoſe

whoſe meaſures he had ſo often, and ſo juſtly, reprobated. In the mean time, the clamours which venal writers had excited againſt the peace, ſerved to divert their attention from this political phænomenon. It was not long, however, before the nation awaked from its ſlumber; and the tranſaction will remain upon record, an awful leſſon to all future ſtateſmen. The high and well-earned reputation of Mr. Fox was, at once, annihilated by this fatal error. His paſt ſervices were obliterated from the remembrance of the people; nor have his ſtrenuous and meritorious exertions ſince in the cauſe of liberty, been ſufficient entirely to redeem his character.

Previous to the expected conteſt, ſeveral of the Swiſs phalanx were obſerved to deſert from the banners of adminiſtration; and this was conſidered by many as a fatal omen. Some noble peers alſo reſigned their places; the Earl of Carliſle in particular ſurrendered his white wand, as ſteward of his Majeſty's houſehold; becauſe, as he declared, he could not approve of the terms of the peace. It has been affirmed, indeed, that the overthrow of Lord Shelburne's adminiſtration, was not the mere conſequence of the new coalition. In a pamphlet, which in ſeveral inſtances avowedly juſtifies political corruption and venality, and which is ſaid to have been written by a member of parliament, there are theſe very remarkable expreſſions.—Speaking of Lord Shelburne, the author adds: "To thoſe *obvious* and *oſtenſible* cauſes of his diſmiſſion, may be added the "*extraordinary* and *almoſt inexplicable indifference* "which marked his conduct, towards *preſerving* "a ſituation, which it had been the leading and "predominant object of his life to acquire." As a commentary upon theſe words, it had been inſinuated,

ſinuated, that his lordſhip had the offer of parliamentary ſupport from a conſiderable number of perſons connected with the lower houſe; but that, confiding in the ſtrength of his cauſe, and in the advantageous terms which he had obtained from our enemies, his lordſhip did not wiſh to be ſupported in the manner which was propoſed to him.

The parliament met on the 21ſt of January. Some unimportant debates enſued concerning the proviſional articles with America; and a bill was paſſed for removing all doubts with reſpect to the independence of the parliament, and the juriſdiction of the courts of law in Ireland, particularly concerning writs of error, which had been formerly brought from their courts to thoſe of England, but which practice, by this act, was annulled. About the ſame period, to conciliate the Iriſh more effectually, a new order of knighthood was created by his Majeſty, entitled the Order of St. Patrick. Little buſineſs of real conſequence was, however, tranſacted, till the 17th of February, when the preliminary articles were laid before parliament.—In the houſe of lords, they were oppoſed by the Earl of Carliſle, Lords Walſingham, Dudley, Townſhend, Keppel, King, Stormont, Sackville, and Loughborough; and defended by the Marquis of Carmarthen, Lord Hawke, the Dukes of Chandos and Grafton, Lords Grantham, Howe, and Shelburne, and the Lord Chancellor. An amendment, conveying an indirect cenſure on miniſters, was propoſed by Lord Carliſle, but negatived by ſeventy-two votes, againſt fifty-nine.

The miniſtry were leſs ſucceſsful in the lower houſe. There, upon the papers preſented to the houſe being read, a motion was made by Mr. Thomas

Pitt, and ſeconded by Mr. Wilberforce, "that an addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to the King for his gracious condeſcenſion, in ordering the preliminary and proviſional articles of the ſeveral treaties which his Majeſty had concluded, to be laid before them; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that they had conſidered them with that attention that ſo important a ſubject required; to expreſs their ſatisfaction that his Majeſty had, in conſequence of the powers entruſted to him, laid the foundation, by the proviſional articles with the Sates of North America, for a treaty of peace, which they truſted would enſure perfect reconciliation and friendſhip between both countries; and that, in this confidence, they preſumed to expreſs their juſt expectations, that the ſeveral ſtates of North America would carry into effectual and ſatisfactory execution thoſe meaſures which the Congreſs was ſo ſolemnly bound by the treaty to recommend, in favour of ſuch perſons as had ſuffered for the part they had taken in the war; and that they ſhould conſider this circumſtance as the ſureſt indication of returning friendſhip.

"To acknowledge their due ſenſe of that wiſe and paternal regard for the happineſs of his ſubjects, which induced his Majeſty to relieve them from a burthenſome and expenſive war; and to aſſure his Majeſty they would encourage every exertion of his ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, in the improvement of thoſe reſources which muſt tend to the augmentation of the public ſtrength, and the proſperity of his dominions."

On this addreſs an amendment was moved by Lord John Cavendiſh, to leave out all that part after the words *to aſſure his Majeſty*, and to inſert the following:—"His faithful commons

commons will proceed to conſider the ſame with that ſerious and full attention which a ſubject of ſuch importance to the preſent and future intereſts of his Majeſty's dominions deſerves. That in the mean time they entertain the fulleſt confidence in his Majeſty's paternal care, that he will concert with his parliament ſuch meaſures as may be expedient for extending the commerce of his ſubjects.

"That, whatever may be the ſentiments of his faithful commons on the inveſtigation of the terms of pacification, they beg leave to aſſure his Majeſty of their firm and unalterable reſolution to adhere inviolably to the ſeveral articles for which the public faith is pledged, and to maintain the bleſſings of peace, ſo neceſſary to his Majeſty's ſubjects, and the general happineſs of mankind."

A ſecond amendment was afterwards moved by Lord North, to inſert, after the words *commerce of his ſubjects*, the following—"And his Majeſty's faithful commons feel that it would be ſuperfluous to expreſs to his Majeſty the regards due from the nation to every deſcription of men, who, with the riſk of their lives, and the ſacrifice of their properties, have diſtinguiſhed their loyalty and fidelity during a long and calamitous war."

It was not without indignation, that the friends of freedom obſerved ſome of thoſe who had been the authors of all the calamities which the Britiſh nation had endured, taking, on this occaſion an active part againſt a miniſtry who had put a period to thoſe calamities, and reſtored to their country the bleſſings of peace and public tranquillity. Beſide the noble lords who moved the amendments, Mr. St. John, Lord Mulgrave, Mr. Burke, Governor Johnſon, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Adam, oppoſed the addreſs; and it was ably defended by the honoura-

ble members who moved and ſeconded it, by Mr. Powys, Mr. Secretary Townſhend, the Lord Advocate, Mr. Grenville, Colonel Onſlow, Lord Frederick Campbell, the Attorney General, and Mr. Rigby.

It was obſerved in general on the treaty, by the party in oppoſition: that the queſtion was not at preſent "whether the peace which we had "now obtained, was preferable to a renewal of the "war?" but, "whether a peace better than it "could poſſibly have been effected, in the pre-"ſent ſtate of affairs?" With this point in view, the ſtate of public credit in this country, was forcily contraſted with the pecuniary difficulties of our enemies. The memorials of the ſtates of Britanny againſt the war, were appealed to; the diſſatisfaction of the whole Spaniſh nation, and the refuſal of ſeveral of the provincial ſtates of America, to pay the laſt tax levied by Congreſs. Our ſucceſſes in the Weſt Indies were mentioned; the total defeat of the Spaniards at Gibraltar; and the victories in the Eaſt Indies. Our navy alſo was exultingly compared with that of the enemy: ours was ſaid to amount to full one hundred and nine ſail of the line, while the united force of the Houſe of Bourbon did not exceed one hundred and twenty-five.

In every negociation for peace, it was ſaid, one of the two following principles muſt be reſorted to—the *uti poſſidetis*, or leaving each party in the actual ſtate of their poſſeſſions at the time of the treaty, or the principle of mutual reſtitution. Both theſe principles were neglected in the treaty before the houſe. In return for the ſettlement on the river Gambia only, we had ceded to France St. Pierre and Miquelon, with the right of fiſhery on an extenſive part of the coaſt of Newfoundland, the iſland of Tobago, the river Senegal, and all its depen-

dependencies, together with the abrogation of all the former articles relating to Dunkirk. The iſland of St. Lucia, which we had alſo given up, was aſſerted to be more valuable than Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher, Nevis, and Montſerrat, united.

The abrogation of the articles relative to Dunkirk was dwelt upon with a minuteneſs almoſt ridiculous: the baſon, it was ſaid, when repaired, would contain twenty or thirty ſhips of conſiderable burden; and theſe iſſuing out at all times would annoy our trade, and counterbalance, in ſome meaſure, our local ſituation for commerce. The conceſſions to France in the Eaſt Indies were enumerated as benefits conferred, for which we had received nothing in exchange.

In commenting on the treaty with Spain, the immenſe value of the two Floridas was highly extolled; and yet, it was remarked, that we had ſurrendered both of theſe and the iſland of Minorca, for the trivial and unimportant poſſeſſion of the Bahama iſlands.

With reſpect to the proviſional articles with the American States, it was ſaid that the independence of the United States being admitted, all beyond that was to be conſidered as a conceſſion, for which, ſo far from receiving an equivalent, we really received nothing. The line of demarcation was, therefore, vehemently cenſured, which ſurrendered to the Americans all the forts of the Back Settlements, and with theſe, conſequently, no inconſiderable portion of the fur trade. The right of fiſhery which America by this treaty obtained, was alſo deplored in the moſt lamentable terms. All the American artillery too, which we had poſſeſſed, was to be left behind us!

But the article which excited the loudeſt clamour, was that reſpecting the Loyaliſts. Upon the

the merits of these sufferers, the Opposition expatiated in the most pathetic terms; and, with a *singular philanthropy*, their unhappy fate was loudly deplored by Mr. Burke, and those members by whom they had been formerly execrated, as having misled the ministry and the nation, and as the chief instruments for involving the country in a series of disgrace and misfortune.

In defence of administration, the necessity of a peace was proved, from the wretched state of the public finances. The national debt, funded and unfunded, amounted to TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS; the annual interest of which was near *nine millions and a half*; which, added to a moderate peace establishment, would make the national expenditure near FIFTEEN MILLIONS per annum; while the whole of the enormous weight of taxes, under which the landed interest was sinking, would with difficulty produce TWELVE MILLIONS AND A HALF.—From these facts it was contended, that a *continuance of the war must end in inevitable ruin.*

It was farther argued, that "the bankruptcy of "our enemies would afford no consolation to us, if "we were ourselves to be in the same situation;" and with respect to our NAVY, it was proved by inconteſtable facts, that such had been the neglect in this department, during the shameless administration of Sandwich, that it was scarcely adequate to the purposes of defence. The whole British force scarcely amounted to one hundred sail of the line, and many of these in a mouldering and bad condition; while the naval force of France and Spain amounted to one hundred and forty ships of the line; and that of Holland, to twenty-five. If Admiral Rodney, flushed with victory, and with such advantages as he possessed after the 12th of April, was not able to recapture

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our poſſeſſions; could Admiral Pigot, it was aſked, have recovered by arms what the miniſtry had regained by treaty? Could he with an inferior force have ſecured Grenada, Dominique, St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Mountſerrat? Or was it not probable that the campaign would have cloſed with the loſs of Jamaica itſelf, the avowed object of the immenſe preparations of our enemies?

In the Eaſt Indies, Sir Edward Hughes had been juſtly honoured with the thanks of parliament, for a courſe of merely defenſive operations. The army was proved to be equally deficient with the navy.—But it was added, the peace did not ſtand in need of this mode of defence, as it was otherwiſe ſufficiently advantageous to entitle it to the full approbation of parliament.

One of the articles moſt objected to was, for inſtance, the participation which was allowed to the French in the Newfoundland fiſhery; but what was deemed a ceſſion, was rather a definition and limitation of a right which had been always claimed, and always exerciſed, and which, while it was left indefinite, had been the ſource of endleſs contention. The iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon had been originally the property of France, but in the pride of our ſucceſs were retained at the treaty of Paris, in 1762; and theſe iſlands could not poſſibly annoy us in time of war, as the moſt ſkilful engineers had certified, that neither of them would admit the conſtruction of a fortreſs which would ſtand the attack of the ſmalleſt of our frigates.

The iſlands of St. Lucia and Tobago were aſſerted to be of much leſs value than the Oppoſition ſtated; and Dominica, conſidered as a place of ſtrength and obſervation, was even of more importance to this country than St. Lucia.

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In Africa, it was true, we had ceded Senegal and Goree, with their dependencies; but Fort James and the river Gambia were guaranteed to us; and by this arrangement it was alledged, we had ſecured as good a ſhare in the gum trade as we ever, in reality, poſſeſſed; and were freed from the neceſſity of making that country the grave of our fellow-ſubjects, by endeavouring in vain to eſtabliſh a monopoly of that article.

The conceſſions to France, in the Eaſt Indies, were aſſerted to be (what they have ſince proved) of much leſs importance than was apprehended; and as to the abrogation of the articles reſpecting Dunkirk, it was ſhewn that they had never been enforced, and that France wiſhed their ſuppreſſion on a mere point of honour.

In ceding Eaſt Florida to the King of Spain, we had ſcarcely done any thing more than exonerate ourſelves from a uſeleſs expence. The imports of both the Floridas did not exceed 70,000l. per annum, and the exports 120,000l.; was a commerce of this amount worth contending for, at the hazard of continuing an expenſive and ruinous war?

The boundaries aſſigned to the American States were aſſerted to have been determined upon the ſoundeſt political principles, and had for their object, what ought to be the firſt with a commercial people, *the continuance of peace.* To have retained the tract of country behind the Miſſiſſippi, and the Alleganny mountains, for the purpoſe of planting them with perſons of different political principles, would have been little better than laying the foundation of a new war and new diſturbances. The free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi was, however, reſerved. As to the fur trade, it was an obvious fact, that its great reſources

ſources lay to the northward; and there was, therefore, little probability, while Canada remained in our poſſeſſion, of America rivalling us in that article.

The right of fiſhery allowed to the Americans, was a right in the exerciſe of which we could not have controuled them, but at a much greater national expence than the object was worth. From their locality, they could proſecute a fiſhery there in the firſt ſeaſon (for there are two) without our conſent, and in ſpite of every effort to repel them. At the ſame time, that we poſſeſſed ſuch infinite advantages in curing and preparing our fiſh, that they could never prove ſucceſsful rivals in the European markets.

The objections concerning the Loyaliſts were anſwered by the ſimple fact, that the Congreſs itſelf was not, nor could be inveſted with authority ſufficient to reinſtate them in their poſſeſſions; but it belonged to the reſpective ſtates to determine on the delinquency of their offending members. The miniſters of Great Britain, as well as the American Congreſs, were obliged to content themſelves with a ſtrong recommendation in their favour: and it was aſked, who was bold enough to ſay, that on this account we ought to have broken off the treaty?—The plain fact was, that without ſhedding one drop of blood, by dedicating to their ſupport only *one fifth* of the *expence* of a *ſingle campaign*, the Loyaliſts might be reſtored to eaſe and enjoyment, in as ample a manner as if the treaty had extended to their entire reinſtatement in America.

The diviſion which ſucceeded this debate, evinced that the queſtion was not to be decided by argument. The amendments were carried againſt the miniſtry, by a majority of two hundred and twenty-

twenty-four to two hundred and eight; and a motley committee choſen from among the new coalition was appointed to draw up the addreſs.

In conſequence of the firſt amendment to the addreſs which propoſed the farther conſideration of the preliminary articles, inſtead of an actual approbation of them, the 21ſt of February was appointed for that purpoſe. On that day ſome reſolutions were carried, in oppoſition to miniſtry; the laſt of which expreſsly aſſerted "that the conceſſions granted to the adverſaries of Great Britain were greater than they were entitled to." In the courſe of the debate, ſome doubts were inſinuated reſpecting the power of the king, to alienate any part of the territory of the Britiſh empire. Theſe doubts were, however, removed by the law members, who referred to the ſtatute which had been paſſed in the preceding ſeſſions, empowering the king to make peace with the American colonies, "any law, ſtatute, matter, or thing to the contrary, notwithſtanding." Independent of this ſtatute, however, they were generally of opinion, that the royal prerogative did not authoriſe him to abdicate any part of his ſovereignty.

After theſe reſolutions it was obvious that the miniſters could no longer with ſecurity remain in office. The Earl of Shelburne immediately reſigned, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer publicly declared in the houſe, that he only retained his poſt till a ſucceſſor ſhould be appointed. The arrangements, however, were not eaſily made; and a miniſterial interregnum enſued, which continued till the latter end of April.

"Various cauſes (ſays a reſpectable contemporary author) were aſſigned for the extraordinary delay in the appointment of a new adminiſtration. Thoſe who wiſhed to ſhift all blame from

the court, alledged, that the chief obſtacle aroſe from the mutual jealouſy which ſtill ſubſiſted between the newly-allied parties, and the difficulties they found in adjuſting their ſeveral pretenſions; others have ſuppoſed, that the interval was employed in private intrigues with the individuals of different parties, and in an attempt to form an adminiſtration independent of the great leading connections: others, again, did not heſitate to aſſert, that on the failure of this attempt the influence poſſeſſed by the Lord High Chancellor, whoſe diſmiſſion was a point inſiſted on by the Coalition, was the principal cauſe that retarded the new arrangement."

The tardineſs of the court on this occaſion, did not well accord with the impatience of the Coalition. On the 19th of March, therefore, Mr. Coke of Norfolk gave notice, that he meant, in the courſe of the following week, to move an addreſs to his majeſty, urging the formation of a new miniſtry; and this notice is ſaid to have had ſufficient effect to induce the King, on the ſucceeding day, to command the Duke of Portland and Lord North to lay before him a ſketch of the new arrangement. Of the circumſtances which produced the abrupt termination of this negociation, we are not correctly informed.

It would, indeed, be trifling with the reader's patience, to repeat the various reports which were propagated at this period by the contending parties. It was ſaid that the great object of the court was to gain time for the appointment of a miniſtry, which ſhould include none of the principals in the Coalition; that the office of prime miniſter had been ſucceſſively offered to Earl Gower, Lord Thurlow, and Mr. William Pitt; that the Chancellor, at the head of the Bedford party, formed the

the great obſtacle to an accommodation; and that the laſt negociation was interrupted, by its being inſiſted upon by his Majeſty, that Lords Thurlow and Stormont ſhould be included in the new cabinet. Whatever grounds there might be for theſe reports, the ſtate of affairs was ſuch, on the 24th of March, that Mr. Coke thought it neceſſary on that day to bring the ſubject before the houſe of commons, in the form of a direct motion, requeſting that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to comply with the wiſhes of the houſe, and to form "an "adminiſtration entitled to the confidence of his "people." In the courſe of the debate, ſome of the moſt independent members took occaſion to expreſs their abhorrence of the coalition which had been formed; and the repreſentative of a conſiderable county propoſed as an addition to the addreſs—"That his Majeſty would be graciouſly "pleaſed *not* to nominate or appoint any perſon "or perſons to fill up the vacant departments, "who by their *miſmanagement of public affairs and* "*want of foreſight and abilities*, when in office, "had *loſt the confidence of the people.*" The latter words of this amendment, it is remarkable, were copied verbatim from a motion made by Mr. Fox, in the month of March, 1782.

In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Fox made many alluſions to a certain ſecret influence, and ſecret adviſers, which he conceived to be the real cauſe of the preſent miniſterial interregnum, as it had been called. He was at length ſo pointedly perſonal as to call up Mr. Jenkinſon, who admitted that he had been with his Majeſty more than once in the courſe of the laſt five weeks; but that he had never gone but when expreſsly ſent for by the King; and added, that as a privy-counſellor he was bound to give his advice whenever his ſove-

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reign thought proper to demand it from him. After a tedious and deſultory debate, the addreſs propoſed by Mr. Coke was carried, and ordered to be preſented by ſuch of the members as were of the privy council.

On the 31ſt of March, Mr. Pitt reſigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer; and the following day a freſh negociation was opened, and the 2d of April the new adminiſtration was announced. The cabinet conſiſted of the following perſons:—the Duke of Portland, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; Lord North, ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, and Mr. Fox for the foreign; Lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Keppel, firſt lord of the admiralty; Lord Stormont, preſident of the council; Lord Carliſle, privy-ſeal.—The great ſeal was put into commiſſion; the Earl of Hertford was appointed chamberlain, and the Earl of Dartmouth ſteward of the houſehold; Lord Townſhend, maſter of the ordnance; Mr. Burke, paymaſter; Mr. Charles Townſhend, treaſurer of the navy; Col. Fitzpatrick, ſecretary at war; Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lee, attorney and ſolicitor general; and the Earl of Northington went as viceroy to Ireland.

The firſt buſineſs that occupied the attention of the miniſters was to open a commerce with America; and, for this purpoſe, two ſhort bills were paſſed as a temporary meaſure; one, to repeal the prohibitory acts paſſed during the war; and the other, to lodge in the King and council, a certain authority, to make ſuch regulations as might be neceſſary for a limited time.

On the 16th of April, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the loan for the current expences of the year. It amounted to the ſum of twelve millions; but though ſome of the members of the former adminiſtration had formerly inveighed againſt corrupt and improvident

dent loans, that of 1783 did not appear to have been conducted on the moſt œconomical principles. The miniſter had treated with eleven bankers relative to it, and had divided it among them in portions of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds; the remainder he had reſerved for a farther diſtribution in ſmaller portions. The loan was to be inveſted in the three per cents; and he had taken the current price of ſtocks as the baſis of the contract, which was then at ſixty-ſeven; but he could obtain from the monied men no more than ſixty-ſix and one half. The ſtocks, however, in a few days, roſe very conſiderably, and from this circumſtance the premium to the purchaſers became enormous. The loan-bill, in its paſſage through both houſes, therefore, encountered very ſevere animadverſions. It was aſſerted, that the lowneſs of the ſtocks, at the time of making the contract, was entirely artificial; that the miniſter ought to have endeavoured to excite a competition; and it was added, that a competition had been actually propoſed to miniſtry by reſponſible men. By the preſent terms it was calculated that no leſs a ſum than ſix hundred and fifty thouſand pounds was actually loſt to the country. Inſinuations were dropped reſpecting that part which was reſerved for private diſtribution; and it was even ſaid, that no perſon out of the miniſtry could conjecture what might be concealed under the cover of the large ſums allotted to the bankers. It was a maxim in France, "Obtain but poſſeſſion of the "bankers, and you may manage the whole king-"dom."

The chancellor of the exchequer endeavoured to repel this laſt inſinuation by proteſtations of his own integrity and juſtice; and for theſe there is reaſon to think, that both the houſe and the nation gave

gave him ſome credit. In defence of the loan the ſhortneſs of the time was principally pleaded, ſince the miniſter of finance was ſcarcely ten days in office, before he was compelled to meet the pecuniary exigencies of his country. The riſe in the ſtocks, it was ſaid, was unexpected by him: he had choſen to treat with men of honour and reſponſibility; and as to the private diſtribution, it was made among bankers who had not been ſharers in the general diſtribution, among the great trading companies, with certain uſual allotments to the clerks in the public offices.

On the 3d of May, a ſubject of more general importance was brought before the houſe of commons, by the late chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Pitt; and that was, the reform of the parliamentary repreſentation. He obſerved, that the mode propoſed laſt year, of appointing a committee to take the ſubject into conſideration, had been cenſured, as too general a mode of proceeding in ſo important a matter; on this account, he came this year before the houſe with ſome ſpecific propoſitions.—The firſt of theſe, he apprehended, would be generally aſſented to; of the ſecond he entertained ſanguine hopes; and of the third he could only ſay, that he believed it founded in reaſon and propriety.

Of theſe propoſitions, the firſt reſpected the means of preventing bribery and corruption at elections; the ſecond went to the diſfranchiſing of any borough convicted of groſs and notorious corruption; and the object of the third was to increaſe the number of the repreſentatives of counties, and of the metropolis; the proportion Mr. Pitt left to the diſcretion of the houſe, but added, that he ſhould recommend one hundred.

The ſubject was not treated, by either ſide, with that depth or clearneſs which might have been

expected from the advanced ſtate of political knowledge: it was ſcarcely conſidered at all in an abſtract view; and neither the danger, on one ſide, of annihilating the energy of that controul which a nation ought to exerciſe over its ſervants; nor, on the other, that of rendering the executive power impermanent and changeable, by weakening its influence in too great a degree, were properly conſidered. The arguments for a parliamentary reform were chiefly deduced from the errors and corruptions of that adminiſtration which had almoſt ruined the country by the American war, and from the undue influence which, it was inſinuated, they had exerciſed over the parliament, and which, it was aſſerted, could only be done when the ſtate of the repreſentation was unequal and corrupt. On the other ſide, the danger of touching the venerable fabric of the conſtitution, was chiefly inſiſted on; and the houſe was cautioned againſt indulging viſionary and fanciful theories with reſpect to government.—In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Thomas Pitt voluntarily offered his borough of Old Sarum, if ſuch a ſacrifice would tend to confirm the conſtitution in its ſtrength and purity. The debate continued till two o'clock in the morning, when Mr. Pitt's reſolutions were rejected by a majority of two hundred and ninety-three to one hundred and forty-nine.

The independence of judges is a ſubject of at leaſt as much *practical* importance as the reform of parliament; and this ſubject was ably urged by the Duke of Richmond, on the 3d of June, when he introduced a motion reſpecting the great ſeal being put into commiſſion. His Grace ſtated with the irreſiſtible force of good ſenſe and truth the obvious neceſſity of making the bench of

of juſtice completely independent, as the only means of making it completely incorrupt. Every poſſibility of exciting either a hope or fear in any of the judges ſhould be entirely precluded. Their ſalaries ſhould be all upon an equality, their ſeats permanent; and government ſhould have nothing to beſtow upon them, when once elevated to that important office.

The Duke ſtrongly cenſured the impropriety of mingling the character of a judge with that of a politician, by aſſigning to ſome of them ſeats in that houſe. He inſtanced ſeveral caſes where ſuch an arrangement had the worſt effects; and mentioned certain lord chancellors, who, before they had ſeats in the houſe of lords, had the misfortune frequently to have their decrees reverſed; but who never experienced the mortification of a reverſal, after they were elevated to the dignity of the peerage.

In the latter end of June, in conſequence of a meſſage from his Majeſty, the ſum 50,000l. per annum was ſettled by parliament upon the Prince of Wales, to be paid out of the civil liſt, and a ſum of 60,000l. was voted for his immediate expences.

About the ſame period, a bill was introduced by Lord John Cavendiſh, and paſſed, for aboliſhing certain offices in the exchequer, ſuch as the chamberlain and uſher, and for regulating the emoluments of others.—The profits of the auditor was to be reduced from 7000l. to 4000l. per annum; and thoſe of the clerk of the pells from 3,300l. to 3000l.: the ſalary of each teller was to be fixed both in peace and war at 2,700l.; whereas, by the former arrangement, the profits in war were immenſe.—The deputies of the tellers were to have each 1000l. per annum; that of the

clerk of the pells 800l. and his receiver 200l. In the debates which enſued on theſe propoſals, the emoluments were cenſured by ſome members, particularly by Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Pitt, as being ſtill enormous, and as a moſt extravagant expenditure of the public treaſure.

While it cannot be denied that there is ſome truth and juſtice in theſe obſervations, it would ſtill be uncandid to reproach the integrity of the chancellor of the exchequer, becauſe his endeavours in the cauſe of reformation fell, in theſe inſtances, ſhort of the expectation of his friends. His lordſhip, poſſibly, did all he could; for it is not always in the power of a ſingle miniſter to effect every meaſure to which he may be diſpoſed; and the unfortunate junction which the Whigs had formed with a baſe and Tory faction, might probably lay him under a conſtraint in moſt inſtances painful and oppoſite to his own feelings. The conduct of another diſtinguiſhed patriot at this period, will, perhaps, not admit of ſo favourable a defence. In the courſe of the ſeſſion, Mr. Burke incurred no inconſiderable diſgrace, by a tranſaction, the principal features of which it will be proper to remark.

The induſtry of the commiſſioners of public accounts, among other abuſes, had diſcovered, in the accounts of the pay-office, a fraudulent concealment of a ſum amounting to upwards of 48,000l.; and in conſequence of their repreſentation, a criminal proſecution was commenced againſt Mr. Powell, the caſhier, and Mr. Bembridge, the accountant; and their delinquency appeared to Colonel Barré in ſo groſs and flagitious a light, that he diſmiſſed them from their reſpective offices. Mr. Burke, upon his acceſſion to the office of paymaſter, ſaw *the matter in a different*

different point of view, and, to the ſurpriſe of moſt people, reinſtated them in office. So unaccountable a proceeding produced warm debates at ſeveral times in the houſe of commons, in the courſe of which, Powell and Bembridge were deſcribed by Mr. (ſince Lord) Kenyon, as "notorious "offenders;" and Mr. Martin pronounced "their "reſtoration to office to be a moſt daring inſult "to the public." They were defended by Mr. Fox and Mr. Rigby, on general principles, as having been uſually conſidered as men of honour, and as having acquitted themſelves to the ſatisfaction of their principals.—But Mr. Burke defended their conduct in much warmer terms, and took God to witneſs, that in reſtoring them to their places he was *ſolely actuated* by *motives* of *juſtice!* He deſcribed Mr. Powell as "one of the moſt "reſponſible men in the kingdom. He had "grown rich in office; and his *great property* "might be ſtated as a *ſecurity* for his *honeſty*." Notwithſtanding the ardour of Mr. Burke's defence, however, the houſe was ſo little ſatisfied, that Mr. Powell was obliged to reſign his office, and Mr. Bembridge was ſuſpended, till the trial at law ſhould be terminated.

Mr. Powell did not ſurvive to juſtify the warm aſſertions of his friend, Mr. Burke; but, previous to his trial, ſunk under the weight of public ignominy, and put an end to his own exiſtence. Mr. Bembridge was tried before the court of King's Bench, and his counſel endeavoured in vain to throw the whole criminality upon the late Mr. Powell.—He was found guilty, and ſentenced to a fine of 2,600l. and ſix months impriſonment in the King's Bench.

Though the late miniſtry did not retain their

power a ſufficient time to fulfil the ſplendid promiſes of reform, which they had held out to the public, their activity, in this reſpect, was probably not abated, by being out of office. On the 2d of June, therefore, Mr. W. Pitt brought in a bill for preventing abuſes, and eſtabliſhing regulations in the treaſury, admiralty, ordnance, exciſe, ſtamp, and other public offices. In detailing the motives for introducing the preſent plan of regulation, Mr. Pitt laid open a ſcene of moſt waſteful expenditure, and glaring corruption, which had been carried on in theſe ſeveral offices under a late adminiſtration.—He mentioned, in pointed terms, the notorious ſale of offices and places: he ſhewed, that in the navy office it was pretended that they did not receive fees; but, though the name fee was not applied to their emoluments, it appeared, that enormous ſums were received, or rather extorted, as *gifts*. The chief clerk of the navy-office had a ſalary of 250l. a year; but he received in *gifts* to the amount of 2,500l.! the other clerks, whoſe ſalaries were ſmaller, received gifts in proportion: theſe gifts Mr. Pitt termed "the wages of corruption."

In the ſame manner, the place of ſecretary to the poſt-office was legally worth 600l. but its profits exceeded 3000l. To theſe Mr. Pitt added ſome inſtances of prodigal expenditure. In the time of Lord North, the repairs of the miniſter's houſe, in Downing-ſtreet, *had coſt the public*, in one year, the enormous ſum of TEN THOUSAND POUNDS! Buſhy-Park had alſo its ſhare of expence. The conſumption of ſtationary wares, by the officers in the different departments of government, might be termed a *depredation* on the public: it exceeded the annual ſum of 18,000l.—The noble lord in the blue ribband, himſelf, the year

year before laſt, had coſt the public 1300l. for ſtationary; and one article in this bill was moſt particularly curious, it was an item of no leſs than 340l. for *whipcord!*

Mr. Burke oppoſed the bill, and attempted to ridicule the projects of reform.—It was alſo oppoſed by Lord John Cavendiſh, on the ground that the offices might be as effectually, and certainly at leſs expence, reformed, by the principals in each office endeavouring to correct the abuſes within their reſpective departments. This argument was, however, very ſucceſsfully overturned by Mr. Pitt, who ridiculed the idea of the very perſons who practiſed abuſes being ſelected to correct and reform their own errors and bad conduct.—With ſome difficulty, the bill effected its progreſs through the houſe of commons, but was rejected by a majority of almoſt two to one in the houſe of lords.

An adjudication of the houſe of lords againſt the ſhameful and corrupt practice of giving general bonds of reſignation on preſentations to eccleſiaſtical benefices, in which Dr. Watſon, who had been created biſhop of Landaff by Lord Shelburne, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf; and the granting of penſions to Lord Rodney and General Elliot; were the only circumſtances that occurred in parliament deſerving of being recorded, beſides thoſe that have been before related. The ſeſſion cloſed on the the 16th of July, with a ſpeech from the throne, in the courſe of which his Majeſty intimated, that the affairs of India would ſhortly demand a very ſerious and unremitting conſideration.

On the 3d of September, the definitive treaties of peace were ſigned with France, Spain, and the United States of America. About the ſame time

peace was concluded with the States General of the United Provinces, in which the only articles of importance were, that the town of Negapatnam, with its dependencies, were ceded to Great Britain, and Trincomalé was reſtored to the Dutch. The definitive treaty was not ſigned till the year 1784.

The reſpite which Great Britain enjoyed at this period from both foreign and domeſtic conteſts, affords leiſure to direct a part of our attention to the other nations of Europe.

The year 1783 was, however, not much diſtinguiſhed by political events, in any part of the world; but as if there was to be an alternation of calamity, the period which reſtored peace to mankind, was fatally marked by the deſolation of ſome of the moſt fertile, moſt beautiful, and moſt celebrated provinces of Europe. The two Calabrias, with a part of Sicily, were doomed to be a ſcene of the moſt tremendous, and the moſt fatal earthquakes that were ever known, even in thoſe volcanic regions. The firſt ſhock happened about noon, on the 5th of February, and was ſo ſudden and ſo violent, as to involve almoſt the whole of Calabria in ruin. This was but the commencement of a ſucceſſion of earthquakes, which, beginning from the city of Amantea, on the coaſt of the Tyrrene Sea, proceeded along the weſtern coaſt to Cape Spartivento, and up the eaſtern, as far as Cape D'Alice; during the whole of which ſpace, not a town or village was left undeſtroyed. The ravages ſoon extended to the coaſt of Sicily; and though the moſt violent and deſtructive ſhocks happened in the months of February and March, yet, for ſeveral months after, the earth continued in an unceaſing tremor, which at certain intervals increaſed in a moſt alarming degree. The ſhocks were ſometimes horizontal, whirling round like a vortex, and ſometimes by pulſations

pulſations, which appeared to proceed from the inmoſt parts of the earth; and their violence was ſuch, that the tops of the higheſt trees ſometimes almoſt touched the ground on either ſide. During the greater part of the time, a deluge of rain poured from the heavens, accompanied with tremendous lightning, and furious guſts of wind. All that part of Calabria between the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth degrees, aſſumed a new appearance; houſes, churches, villages, were buried in one promiſcuous ruin; and ſeveral towns and cities, with nearly the whole of their inhabitants, were deſtroyed. Among theſe, one of the moſt remarkable was Caſal Nuova, where the Princeſs Gerace Grimaldi, with more than four thouſand of her ſubjects, periſhed in the ſame inſtant. An inhabitant of the town happening to be on the ſummit of a neighbouring hill, at the moment of the ſhock, and looking earneſtly back to the reſidence of his family, could ſee no other remains of it than a white cloud which proceeded from the inſtant deſtruction of the houſes. At Bagnara, about three thouſand perſons were killed, and not fewer at Radicina and Palma. At Terra Nuova one thouſand four hundred periſhed, and rather more at Semniari. The inhabitants of Scylla eſcaped from their houſes on the celebrated rock of that name, and, with their prince, deſcended to a little harbour at the foot of the hill; but in the courſe of the night a ſtupendous wave, which is ſaid to have been driven three miles over land, on its return ſwept away the unfortunate prince, with two thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-three of his ſubjects.

It would be impoſſible to deſcribe the horror and wretchedneſs of the ſurvivors during this calamitous ſcene. The jaws of death appeared to

to be opened to incloſe them, while they beheld in ſilent miſery the ruin of their property, and the loſs of thoſe dear connexions, to whom they might have looked for ſome conſolation.—The natural phænomena, which accompanied this viſitation of Providence, were awful and ſurpriſing: mountains were detached from their foundations, and carried to a conſiderable diſtance; rivers diſappeared from their beds, and again returned to overflow the adjacent country; ſtreams of water guſhed out ſuddenly from the earth, and ſprang to a conſiderable height; large pieces of the ſurface of the plain, equal to ſeveral acres in extent, were tranſported five hundred feet from their former ſituation, with plantations of olive, of mulberry trees, and corn growing upon them, which ſtill continued to vegetate and flouriſh. The eſcapes of ſome of the inhabitants were equally wonderful.—From the ruins of houſes, which had been thrown to a conſiderable diſtance, ſome perſons were dug out unhurt; but theſe inſtances were few; and compared with the population of the country, the mortality was dreadful, and almoſt unprecedented, being computed in the whole at not leſs than forty thouſand.

While the rival empires of France and England were waſting their ſtrength and vigour in an uſeleſs and unprofitable conteſt, it is ſurpriſing with what inſenſibility and indifference the ſtateſmen of both countries beheld the rapid increaſe of a power, which threatens one day, and that perhaps not far diſtant, to have the moſt fatal influence over the affairs of Europe. We allude to the formidable empire of Ruſſia, a country infinite in its reſources, almoſt unbounded in its territory, a people hardy, warlike, and invincible, and under the vigorous adminiſtration of deſpotic authority. The horrid

horrid luſt of dominion, the moſt fertile ſource of human calamity, now ſo juſtly reprobated by all civilized people, has been the invariable purſuit of the ſovereigns of that empire, ſince they emerged from a ſavage ſtate. To this object, during five ſucceſſive reigns, every effort has been uniformly directed; to this every principle of juſtice and humanity has been invariably ſacrificed; and we muſt confeſs, that while the court of Ruſſia has purſued this object with unabated ardour, ſhe has alſo done it with uncommon ability; and no occaſion which preſented itſelf of ſecuring an acceſſion of either territory or power, has eſcaped her vigilance. An opportunity of this kind occurred in the courſe of the year 1783, the particulars of which will demand a more minute detail.

A principal article of the treaty of Kainardgiac, in 1774, was the independence of the Crimea; but it was not its independence that ſuited the corrupt and rapacious views of the Empreſs of Ruſſia. In the year 1778, a Khan was elected by her influence; her uſurpations were ſuch as excited the heavieſt complaints of the Porte, in that and the ſucceeding year, and a bloody and calamitous war was only prevented by the mediation of France. From that period to the latter end of 1782, the Empreſs had not ceaſed from the baſeſt intrigues; and Sabin Guerac, the Khan who had been elected by her influence, made the moſt oſtentatious diſplay of his vaſſalage, and even accepted of a captain's commiſſion in the body guards of the Empreſs. Theſe proceedings could not be very acceptable to a high-ſpirited and free people; they penetrated the dark and inſidious views of the court of Peterſburgh; they ſaw in their old protectors

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that frank and upright character by which the Turks have been ſo long diſtinguiſhed, and nothing but duplicity and fineſſe in the court of Ruſſia. To perſons of their ſimplicity of manners, the mode in which the Empreſs aſcended the throne, could not greatly recommend her government; and perſons who, like them, had imbibed an early veneration for ancient dignity and rank, ſaw with indignation a petty princeſs of Anhalt, raiſed to empire almoſt by chance, attempting to extend her dominion by the moſt unlawful means, and, by a metamorphoſis not leſs fatal than that of the enchantreſs Circe, transforming every where freemen into ſlaves. The diſcontented party were ſupported by the Tartars of the Cuban, by the Nogais, and other more diſtant tribes, who all dreaded the increaſe of a power, which could only be built upon the ruins of all that was eſtimable in human nature. A general revolt enſued; Sabin Guerai was defeated and dethroned; and the Tartars proceeded to the election of a new Khan. This was undoubtedly the very ſtate of things which the inſidious court of Ruſſia moſt particularly deſired.—She had now a pretence for ſending her troops into the Crimea, under the pretext of aiding the lawful prince againſt a rebel and uſurper.

If this conduct is weighed in the even balance of truth, it will not be found conſiſtent with equity and juſtice. If the Crimea was as the Empreſs pretended, and as ſhe forced the court of Conſtantinople to admit, an independent ſtate, then it will be impoſſible to juſtify her interference. Nothing ought to be more ſacred than the domeſtic œconomy of every free ſtate; the members of that ſtate have an undoubted right to regulate

late their own concerns, to caſhier their own officers, to elect new ones; and any other power which invades their territory, commits as groſs an act of violence as the private ruffian who forcibly enters to plunder and ravage the habitation of his neighbour.

The Porte could not be a ſilent and indifferent ſpectator of the hoſtile proceedings of Ruſſia, but, with the uſual good faith of Muſſulmans, determined to defend the *real* independence of the Crimea. The reflecting part of mankind will be at ſome loſs to diſcover what intereſt the Emperor of Germany could have in theſe tranſactions; and, perhaps, there is no anſwer to be given but the general depravity and ignorance, the vanity, caprice and folly, of deſpotic courts. But the affairs of Germany will require ſomething of a retroſpective conſideration.

The Emperor Joſeph has, by ſome writer, been termed "the Mimic of Frederick." He was the awkard copy of a bad original The late King of Pruſſia, however, to one of the worſt hearts that ever exiſted within a human breaſt, united ſome ſhare of underſtanding, and conſiderable adroitneſs. If he had not true wiſdom, he at leaſt had cunning; if he was not a philoſopher, he was a man of the world; but Joſeph, actuated by the ſame abſurd vanity, and equally deſtitute of principle, knew leſs how to accommodate his conduct to his ſituation, and was unable, like the wily Pruſſian, to make an advantageous uſe of the paſſions and the follies of mankind. Thus it unfortunately happened, that though many of his plans of reform were certainly good, and might even be well meant on the whole, they were all of them ill-timed and unſuited to the temper and circumſtances of the people

people for whom they were deſigned. We had already occaſion to notice with approbation, his toleration of the Proteſtants; and this might have been favourably received, had it not been too haſtily followed by other meaſures which indicated a preconcerted deſign to overthrow the church in Germany, if not throughout Europe. The edict for the toleration of the Proteſtants, was preceded by one which, in ſome degree, extended the liberty of the preſs; and authoriſed, under ſome limits, the circulation of news-papers and periodical publications; and it was immediately followed by the naturalization of the Jews.

Thus far might have been not leſs conſiſtent with true policy, than with a liberal ſyſtem of government; but theſe meaſures were too haſtily ſucceeded by two unexpected ordinances, the one prohibiting all religious orders from holding any correſpondence with their ſuperiors, if reſident in any foreign country; and the other depriving the papal bulls of all force and authority within the Imperial dominions, without the ſanction of the ſovereign firſt obtained. As if impatient, however, for the completion of his plan, the year 1781 was not brought to a cloſe, before the Emperor commenced the dangerous and unpopular meaſure of ſuppreſſing the monaſteries within his hereditary dominions, and declared in favour of a general eccleſiaſtical reform.

Juſtly alarmed at theſe dangerous innovations, the aged Pontiff, Pius the Sixth, determined on a journey from Rome to Vienna, where he arrived on the 22d of March, 1782. The object of his Holineſs was both fair and reaſonable: he explained his ſentiments with a becoming frankneſs to the Emperor; he acknowledged that he had neither the power nor the will to defend by force

force thoſe rights which his predeceſſors had formerly enjoyed; and all that he demanded was, that a congreſs of ambaſſadors from the Catholic powers ſhould be held, and that they ſhould define and irrevocably determine what portion of the ancient rights and privileges ſhould ſtill be continued to the See of Rome.

It was remarked, that the Pope, in the courſe of his journey, met with every thing which was flattering and agreeable, except ſucceſs in his miſſion. He remained a month at Vienna, during which time he was entertained with every mark of reſpect; but the Emperor continued unſhaken in his reſolution, and the buſineſs of reform appeared to proceed even with increaſed rapidity.

Theſe were not the only projects in which Joſeph the Second was engaged. Several plans were undertaken by him for the promotion of commerce within his dominions.—Trading and manufacturing companies were eſtabliſhed in different parts; Oſtend was made a free port; and the free navigation of the Scheldt was inſiſted upon, in order once more to reſtore to the city of Antwerp its ancient commerce and ſplendour. It is curious to remark the capricious and fluctuating politics of courts.—The opening of the Scheldt, on this occaſion, is ſaid to have been the original ſuggeſtion of an Engliſh Ambaſſador. England, at this period, was ſtrenuous to ſupport the meaſure, while it was reſiſted with all the weight and influence of France. We have ſince ſeen Great Britain engaged in a war with France, the origin and ſource of which was to *prevent* the opening of the Scheldt, when propoſed by that nation.

The domeſtic plans of Joſeph would probably have ſucceeded; and though neither ſo ſeaſonable as might have been wiſhed, nor conducted with that prudence which would have been employed by a more conſummate ſtateſman, it muſt be confeſſed, that many of them might ultimately have promoted the wealth, proſperity and grandeur of his hereditary dominions; and Joſeph the Second might have been a happy and a uſeful ſovereign, had he not fallen into the ſnare of the perfidious court of Peterſburgh; had ſhe not ſeduced the vain and capricious monarch into the unfortunate project of becoming a hero. As no fair or adequate reaſon was ever aſſigned for the Emperor's embarking in the diſputes in the Crimea, it is impoſſible to ſtate any apology for his conduct; and all that can be ſaid is, that towards the end of the year 1782, two memorials were preſented to the Divan, from the courts of Peterſburgh and Vienna, which, beſides inſiſting on the Porte no longer interfering in the affairs of the Crimea, exhibited a further inſtance of unjuſt interpoſition in the affairs of an independent ſtate, by the combined monarchs inſolently dictating to the Grand Signior the conduct which he was to purſue in the adminiſtration of his own provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia.

To complete the injuſtice and perfidy of theſe proceedings, the Tartar Khan, who had been actually depoſed by his own ſubjects, pretended, (though the monarchy was evidently elective) to make a transfer of his dominions in perpetuity to the Empreſs of Ruſſia; and, in effect, this pretended abdication was nothing leſs than the actual ſale of a free people; and the Khan received eſtates of conſiderable value in Ruſſia, as a compenſation.

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The beginning of the year 1783, therefore, exhibited, on the north-eaſt borders of Europe, the moſt formidable apparatus of war that had perhaps ever been diſplayed even in thoſe martial regions. The troops of the Emperor, independent of thoſe of Ruſſia, amounted to not fewer than one hundred and thirty thouſand; and the Turkiſh army already exceeded one hundred and fifty thouſand. In the midſt of this formidable preparation, humanity may exult that the immenſe carnage, which might have been expected, was at leaſt delayed by a renewal of the negociations for peace; and though we may condemn the terms as unjuſt and unequal, yet, on this account, it is impoſſible not to rejoice in the event. The weakneſs of the Turks determined the divan once more to give way; and under the mediation of France, a treaty was concluded, by which the Crimea, and all the country to the north of the Cuban, with the iſle of Taman, was ceded to Ruſſia. By this acquiſition, the Empreſs procured an eaſy ingreſs into the heart of the Turkiſh dominions, facilitated her commercial intercourſe with the European nations; and, by ſecuring to herſelf the Palus Meotis, was enabled to extend her trade to all the eaſtern provinces of Aſia. The territory thus acquired, is now diſtinguiſhed by the ancient name of Taurica, and the Greek appellations of the towns and cities are in general reſtored.

While theſe tranſactions were in agitation, the city of Conſtantinople was deſolated by a moſt dreadful fire, which raged with unremitting fury for ſixty-two hours, during the whole of which the wind blew with undiminiſhed violence. Upwards of forty thouſand houſes, beſides public buildings, were reduced to a heap of ruins, and an incredible number of people periſhed in the flames.

Though not ſtrictly within the limits of a political narrative, it yet may not be improper to remark, that the ſummer of 1783 was diſtinguiſhed by a philoſophical diſcovery not leſs ſurpriſing and intereſting than any of thoſe natural or political phænomena which it had already produced. To aſcend into the regions of the atmoſphere, and to navigate the heavens, is an object which has occaſionally occupied ſome of the moſt enlightened minds. The two Bacons, Wilkins, Luna, and Guzman, have ranked among the projectors who have indulged theſe ſpeculations; but the actual diſcovery was reſerved for the preſent age. M.M. S. and J. Montgolfier, manufacturers of paper at Annonay, have the honour of the invention; and they were led to the principle, by obſerving the aſcent of vapour or ſmoke in the atmoſphere. The firſt machines, therefore, employed by them for this purpoſe, were conſtructed merely on the principle of air rarefied by the abſorption of heat; and the experiment was tried on a ſmall ſcale, at Avignon, in the beginning of the year, when a very fine ſilk bag was raiſed to the height of ſeventy feet, merely by applying ſome lighted combuſtibles to an aperture at its lower extremity. Experiments on a more extended ſcale preſently ſucceeded; and, among others, an immenſe ball of linen of twenty-three thouſand cubic feet in dimenſion, was found to have the power of lifting about five hundred weight. Chopped ſtraw and wool were, on this occaſion, burnt under the machine. M. Montgolfier ſoon after exhibited the experiment before the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and afterwards before the King and Royal Family. On the latter occaſion, a ſheep, a cock, and a duck, accompanied the balloon in its progreſs, which aſcended to the

height of one thouſand four hundred and forty feet, and the animals eſcaped unhurt. The ſucceſs of this experiment encouraged M. Pilatre de Rozier to attempt to traverſe the atmoſphere by means of a globe, prepared of a firmer conſiſtency than the former, by M. Montgolfier, and provided with a gallery and a fire-grate. M. Pilatre aſcended, ſucceſſively, five times, the laſt in company with the Marquis D'Arlandes, when the machine being diſengaged from the cords, they performed a voyage of five miles in the ſpace of twenty-five minutes.

The ſucceſs attending the experiment of M.M. Montgolfier, gave riſe to a more philoſophical arrangement. M. Charles, profeſſor of experimental philoſophy, at Paris, with two brothers, of the name of Roberts, conſtructed a balloon, to be filled with inflammable air, inſtead of rarefied air. The materials of the balloon were luteſtring, covered with a ſolution of caoutchouc, or elaſtic gum; and the inflammable air was procured by pouring oil of vitriol over filings of tin. In a machine of this conſtruction, M.M. Charles and Roberts were ſoon induced to attempt an aërial voyage. The balloon was covered with a net, from which was ſuſpended the car or boat, in which the adventurers were ſeated. On the 1ſt of December they aſcended from the Champ de Mars; and, in the courſe of an hour and three quarters, they were carried to the diſtance of twenty-ſeven miles from Paris. The quickſilver in the thermometer, which on the ground ſtood at 30.18 inches, during the voyage fluctuated from 27 to 27.65; whence they calculated that they had aſcended to the height of ſix hundred feet. As the gas, or inflammable air,

was not much exhauſted, on M. Roberts' leaving the boat, M. Charles re-aſcended by himſelf, and was carried at once to the height of almoſt nine thouſand feet, and entirely out of the ſight of all terreſtrial objects. At this immenſe height, the balloon, which had been rather flaccid, began to ſwell ſo conſiderably, that he was obliged to open a valve at the ſuperior part, and which he governed by means of a ſilken cord, in order to permit ſome of the gas to eſcape; and, at the ſame time, he experienced an intenſe degree of cold. The beauty of the proſpects, when the machine aſſumed a point nearer to the earth, is deſcribed in glowing terms; but it would exceed the limits of this hiſtory to enter into the detail.

In the courſe of a variety of experiments, which have ſince been exhibited both in France and England, but rather with a view to gratify the vulgar gaze of curioſity, than for the ſake of philoſophical improvement, ſeveral eſſays have been made to guide the aëroſtatic machine in its courſe through the atmoſphere, but they have been made in vain. This circumſtance, together with ſome unfortunate diſaſters which have attended M. Pilatre de Roſier, and ſome other adventurers, has contributed greatly to leſſen the public expectations with reſpect to their utility. It is, however, a ſpecies of preſumption to ſet limits to the ardour of philoſophical diſcovery; and it would be reaſoning contrary to all analogy to aſſert, that ſo extraordinary an invention will never be productive of any important effect. To what it may conduct, is not our buſineſs to inquire. The part of the hiſtorian is to inſtruct by facts, and not to amuſe by conjecture.

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The indignation which the coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox had univerſally excited, and particularly among the friends of liberty (who after all are the active party in the nation, and the party moſt to be regarded by a ſtateſman), though it lay dormant for a while, was ready to burſt on the firſt occaſion; and the deteſtation in which it was held, foreboded but a ſhort duration to the miniſtry which was formed upon its baſis. In this inſtance the intereſts and views of the King coincided with thoſe of the people. He felt himſelf uneaſy and diſſatisfied under the controul of a miniſtry which had been forced upon him, and the members of which, it is aſſerted, were not extremely delicate and cautious in their treatment of the Sovereign. Both the King and the people, therefore, were equally, it might be ſaid, diſpoſed to deſire the diſſolution of this obnoxious miniſtry; and an opportunity ſoon preſented to emancipate his Majeſty from his ſubjugation.

The parliament met on the 11th of November; and the firſt object that naturally attracted the attention of miniſtry, was the affairs of the India Company. The difficulty of forming any practicable plan for the management of theſe unwieldy poſſeſſions has already been intimated; and it muſt be confeſſed, that the moſt upright miniſter would have found himſelf embarraſſed by a caſe ſo unprecedented, and beſet with ſo many ſingular and perplexing difficulties. While this is frankly admitted, there is but too much reaſon to ſuſpect that the plan ſuggeſted by the Coalition miniſtry was not deviſed upon principles of patriotiſm; but that what was in itſelf a ſubject of ſome perplexity, was from this circumſtance

converted to their own advantage. It has never yet been aſcertained to the public, who was the actual projector of this plan.—Thoſe who affect to have been in the ſecrets of the cabinet, aſcribe it to Mr. Burke; and if we conſider the great attention which that gentleman had paid for a ſeries of years to the affairs of India, if we conſider the immediate object of the bill which we ſhall have preſently to notice, and the extreme ſolicitude of Mr. Burke concerning its fate through every ſtage of its progreſs, we ſhall ſee ſome probability in the conjecture.

On the 18th, Mr. Fox preſented two bills relative to the affairs of India; the one, "For veſting "the affairs of India in the hands of certain "commiſſioners;" and the other, "For the "better government of the territorial poſſeſſions, "&c." To the latter of theſe bills there appeared but little objection; the former, which has ſince been diſtinguiſhed by the name of Mr. Fox's India Bill, provoked a violent oppoſition throughout the nation, which ended in the diſmiſſion of the Coalition miniſtry.

The permanent features in this celebrated India bill were—The annihilation of the preſent court of directors; the whole government of the India Company, as heretofore exerciſed by the court of directors, being veſted for the ſpace of four years, in ſeven commiſſioners, with the aſſiſtance of nine directors, who were to be each poſſeſſed of at leaſt two thouſand pounds ſtock, and to act ſubordinate to the ſeven commiſſioners. The directors might be removed for any ſpecified cauſe, by five of the commiſſioners, and any of the commiſſioners might be diſmiſſed by the King, on an addreſs from either houſe of parliament.—The commiſſioners were in the firſt inſtance

ſtance to be named, by the whole legiſlature; and their names, as filled up in the committee, were, Earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Frederick Montague, Lord Lewiſham. Colonel North, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir Henry Fletcher, and Mr. Gregory; all future vacancies were to be filled up by his Majeſty. The directors were to be choſen by the court of proprietors; to be entitled to a ſalary of five hundred pounds per annum each, from the Company; and neither they nor the commiſſioners were to hold any place under the company, nor any during pleaſure under the crown.—The whole patronage of India appears by this bill to have been veſted in the commiſſioners.

The bill was no ſooner introduced into the houſe of commons, than it excited a vehement diſcuſſion; but the objections which were urged againſt it may be conſidered in two leading points of view. It was cenſured in the firſt place as a wanton violation of *chartered rights*; and in commenting upon theſe, a moſt judicious diſtinction was made by Mr. W. Pitt, who was the moſt formidable opponent of miniſters on this occaſion. There were, he obſerved, two kinds of charters, very different in their nature from each other: the one founded upon the royal prerogative, and originating from the caprice, prodigality, or prepoſſeſſions of a particular monarch; ſuch were many of the charters granted to private or municipal corporations: the other, ſanctioned by a ſolemn act of the legiſlature, and on which the faith of parliament was irrevocably pledged. The charter of the India Company, he ſaid, was a fair purchaſe made from the public, an equal compact for reciprocal advantages between the proprietors and the nation at large.

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The other objection was ſtated to be of a ſtill more formidable complexion.—The bill was oppoſed as an infraction of the general principles of the conſtitution.—The immenſe weight of influence, which the patronage of India muſt throw into the hands of the commiſſioners, was creating a fourth eſtate in the realm, a new and hitherto unknown power in the nation; a power inconſiſtent with the nature of our government, as it was totally independent of the crown, and might carry a moſt fatal influence into the other branches of the legiſlature. It was exclaimed againſt, as an attempt to erect a dangerous ariſtocracy on the ruins of the monarchy, and as veſting for ever the whole government of the country in the hands of a party.

Theſe objections were replied to with conſiderable ability by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and others. The bill was deſcribed by them as no violation of chartered rights, ſince there was no violation whatever of the property of the Company.—The proprietors were perfectly ſecured in the enjoyment of their capital and their profits; and ſo far from violating the monopoly, the preſent bill might be conſidered as a direct and ſolemn ſanction of it. The bill was deſcribed as a meaſure merely of regulation; and in favour of ſuch a regulation, the groſs abuſes which had been committed in India, and the acknowledged incompetence of a few mercantile men, choſen, not for their abilities, but for their wealth, to conduct with prudence the affairs of ſo vaſt an empire, were very forcibly urged.

Mr. Burke noticed particularly a phraſe that had frequently been employed (by Mr. W. Pitt), with a view of exciting odium againſt the bill and its promoters, viz. "the chartered rights of

"men." The phraſe, he obſerved, was full of affectation and ambiguity.—*The rights of men*, that is, the natural rights of mankind, he ſaid, were *ſacred things*; and if any public meaſure was found miſchievouſly to affect them, that circumſtance ought to be an objection *fatal to the meaſure*. But that was not the caſe here; the rights the India Company's charters communicated (to ſpeak of them in terms of the greateſt poſſible moderation) did at leaſt *ſuſpend* the *natural rights* of *mankind*, and were liable to fall into a direct violation of them: and it was the abſolute duty of parliament, he added, to guard againſt ſuch violation.

With reſpect to the ſecond objection, the difficulty of diſpoſing of the vaſt influence which the patronage of India muſt neceſſarily produce, was very frankly acknowledged. But it was urged, that no *new power* was created by the preſent bill; it was a power which had exiſted from the firſt formation of the India Company, and which had increaſed with its poſſeſſions; and the only queſtion was, in whoſe hands was this power to be entruſted? That the new commiſſioners muſt derive influence from the powers which were veſted in them, was not denied; but it was obſerved, that every poſſible means had been employed to guard againſt the undue exerciſe of thoſe powers. The commiſſioners were appointed for a limited time; all their proceedings were to be laid open to the public; and, in all caſes of a vacancy occurring, the nomination was in the crown. The commiſſioners were in the firſt inſtance nominated by the houſe; a practice of parliament invariable in every commiſſion, down to that of the land-tax.

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In reviewing the arguments on this ſubject, it muſt be confeſſed, that one apparent aim of the miniſtry by this bill was, the perpetuating of their power, at leaſt for ſome years, by placing the patronage of India in the hands of their connexions and dependents; but that the bill would have had that fatal influence, which was predicted, on the principles of the conſtitution, is not proved. In the hands of an adminiſtration which had been formed on a leſs exceptionable baſis, the bill would have excited but little apprehenſion or oppoſition in the nation. Its failure can only be attributed to the univerſal deteſtation which the coalition had attracted from all ranks of men; and the true explanation of the clamour which ſucceeded on the occaſion is, that the great majority of the people embraced the firſt opportunity to expreſs their diſſatisfaction at what was univerſally conſidered as an abandonment of principle; and their reſentment againſt the parties which formed the obnoxious union, was directed againſt their meaſures.

The cauſe of liberty, perhaps, never experienced a more fatal blow in this kingdom, than from the diſunion of the Whigs, and the conſequent junction of the Rockingham party with that of Lord North. The latter event annihilated, perhaps for ever, all confidence in the profeſſions of public men; and it prevented thoſe efficacious meaſures, which, by the puniſhment of the great ſtate delinquents, would have operated to the diſcouragement of future miniſters, from involving the country in ruinous wars; and, by a ſevere ſcrutiny into the tranſactions of contractors and commiſſaries, would have defended the nation from that ſyſtem of plunder and peculation which is always encouraged by impunity.

During the progreſs of the India bill through the houſe of commons, the public ſentiment was evinced by a number of petitions againſt the meaſure from the moſt reſpectable quarters. The bill was notwithſtanding carried with triumph through the lower houſe; but, in the mean time, a blow was meditated, which at length entirely interrupted its progreſs, and effected the diſſolution of the Coalition miniſtry.

The King had hitherto remained a paſſive ſpectator of the proceedings of miniſtry relative to the affairs of India; but either the debates of parliament had awakened his jealouſy for the royal prerogative, or the petitions which had been preſented againſt the India bill, and the apparent temper of the nation, had raiſed his hopes of being able to extricate himſelf from a ſtate which, probably, had long been uneaſy to his feelings; a ſtate of ſubjection to a miniſtry who had evidently been forced upon him. On the 9th of December, having paſſed the commons by a great majority, the bill was preſented to the lords. On the 11th Earl Temple is ſaid to have had a private conference with his Majeſty on the ſubject of the meaſure then depending in parliament.—The King is ſaid further, on this occaſion, to have ſignified his entire diſapprobation of the India bill, and to have authoriſed Lord Temple to ſignify to the individual lords, "that "he ſhould deem thoſe who ſhould vote for it, "not only not his friends, but his enemies; and "that if Lord Temple could put this in ſtronger "words, he had full authority do it." The bill was read a firſt time that ſame evening, and was oppoſed, but without a diviſion. The ſecond reading on the 15th of December, ſerved to confirm the reports concerning the interference of Lord

Lord Temple. Several peers, who had entruſted their proxies to the miniſter, withdrew them only a few hours before the meeting of the houſe; and, on a motion for an adjournment, the miniſters were left in a minority of ſeventy-nine againſt eighty-ſeven.

The 17th of December was to determine finally the fate of the India bill. In the mean time, ſome warm debates took place in the houſe of commons relative to the reports which had been promulgated of the interference of Earl Temple; and a ſtrong reſolution was paſſed, importing "that to report any opinion, or pretended opi-"nion, of his Majeſty upon any bill or proceed-"ing depending in either houſe of parliament, "with a view to influence the votes of the "members, is a high crime and miſdemeanor." It was alſo reſolved, that on the Monday following the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee "to take into conſideration the preſent "ſtate of the nation;" and theſe were followed by a motion, the intent of which was, to guard againſt a premature diſſolution of parliament.

The India bill was rejected, as was expected, by the lords; and the following night, December 18th, at twelve o'clock, a meſſage was delivered to each of the ſecretaries of ſtate from his Majeſty, ordering them to deliver up the ſeals of their office to the under-ſecretaries, as a perſonal interview would not be agreeable. The following day, letters of diſmiſſion were ſent to the other members of the cabinet; and the ſeals were given to Lord Temple, as ſecretary of ſtate, which, however, he ſoon after reſigned, on the plea that, as he was conſidered by the late miniſtry as peculiarly obnoxious on account of the part he had taken, he wiſhed in his private capacity, and un-

protected

protected by the influence of office, to anſwer any charges that might be preferred againſt him.

Notwithſtanding this apparent deſertion of the Noble Earl, the new adminiſtration was completed within the courſe of a few days. Mr. W. Pitt was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Earl Gower, preſident of the council; Lord Sydney, and the Marquis of Carmarthen, ſecretaries of ſtate; Lord Thurlow, chancellor; the Duke of Rutland, lord privy ſeal; Lord Howe, firſt lord of the admiralty; the Duke of Richmond, maſter of the ordnance; and theſe great officers conſtituted the cabinet council. Lord Mulgrave and Mr. Grenville ſucceeded Mr. Burke in the pay-office, and Mr. Henry Dundas was appointed treaſurer of the navy.

The ſituation in which the new miniſtry commenced their official career, was new and ſingular in the annals of this country; at leaſt no inſtance had occurred, ſince the Revolution, of an adminiſtration formed by the crown, in immediate oppoſition to the majority of the houſe of commons. A ſeries of tumultuous debates and violent motions ſucceeded, which it would be nugatory minutely to detail. The land-tax bill was deferred, as a ſecurity againſt the diſſolution of parliament; and on the 22d of December, the houſe being in a committee on the ſtate of the nation, an addreſs to his Majeſty was reſolved on to the ſame effect, and was preſented on the 24th.—In his anſwer, the King acknowledged, in general terms, the importance of the objects which were then before parliament; hoped they would proceed in the conſideration of them with all convenient ſpeed after the receſs; and promiſed not

to

to interrupt their meeting either by prorogation or diſſolution.

1784 The houſe adjourned on the 26th of December, and met again on the 12th of January, when two reſolutions for protracting ſtill farther the diſſolution of parliament were voted; the one, to prevent any payments iſſuing from the exchequer or the bank for the public ſervice; the other, adjourning the mutiny bill to the 23d of February. In the mean time Mr. Pitt was not deterred, by the diſcouraging proſpect, from introducing a bill for the regulation of the India company. By this bill, commiſſioners were to be appointed *by his Majeſty* from the members of the privy-council, who were authoriſed "to check, "ſuperintend, and controul all acts, operations "and concerns which in any wiſe relate to the "civil or military government or revenues of the "ſaid India Company." It ſtipulated alſo that they ſhould have acceſs to all papers or documents, that they ſhould inſpect all diſpatches, and that the court of directors ſhould be bound in all inſtances to obey the orders and directions of the ſaid board. The nomination of commander in chief was veſted in his Majeſty; alſo the power to remove at pleaſure the governors and members of the councils, the vacancies of which were to be filled up by the Company, only with the approbation of his Majeſty, who, in caſe of any neglect of nominating within a limited time, was himſelf empowered to make the appointment.

It is evident that the principal feature in which this bill differs from that which was introduced by Mr. Fox, is, that in the former the power was veſted in commiſſioners appointed by parliament, in the latter by the crown. The *rights* of the India Company (as they are called) were almoſt equally

equally ſacrificed by both; for, by Mr. Pitt's bill, nothing but a ſhadow of power was left to the company: a coercive *negative* in all matters of importance being reſerved to the crown, the ſupreme authority was ſubſtantially veſted there. To the odium therefore which the coalition had excited, and to no other cauſe, can it be aſcribed, that the latter of theſe bills ſhould have been received throughout the nation with cordiality and applauſe, and that the other ſhould have proved the ſubject only of clamour and diſſatisfaction. The court of directors, and the company themſelves, were made the very inſtruments, in the latter inſtance, of enſlaving themſelves, and voluntarily ſurrendered to Mr. Pitt thoſe privileges for which they had ſo ſtrenuouſly contended againſt Mr. Fox. The conſequences of Mr. Pitt's bill, which, though it was rejected on this occaſion, afterwards paſſed into a law, were important; and it increaſed in a ſurpriſing degree the influence of the crown.—It rendered the *city of London*, which had been before the general ſource of diſcord and diſſatisfaction, for ever dependent upon miniſters, and gave a final blow to the little of political independence which exiſted in the mercantile world.

Mr. Pitt's bill was read a ſecond time on the 23d of January, and rejected by a majority of eight; and on the ſame day Mr. Fox gave notice of his deſign to introduce a new India bill, in which he ſaid it was his intention to obviate the objections which had been urged againſt his former propoſitions.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting relative to the grand pretext for contention, the India company, the Oppoſition were not inactive with reſpect to an object which was certainly of more eſſential importance to them, that of forcing the

miniſtry from their ſtations. On the 16th of January, a direct vote of cenſure on the miniſters was propoſed by Lord Charles Spencer, which expreſſed "that their continuance in office was contrary to "the principles of the conſtitution, and injurious "to the intereſts of the King and his people."—The general arguments on the ſide of Oppoſition reſted on the point, that the preſent miniſters owed their appointment to *ſecret influence*; while on the other ſide it was urged, that no inſtance of ſecret interference could be charged upon any perſon in the ſtation of a miniſter; that the only perſon who had been mentioned in this connexion was Lord Temple, who was no miniſter; and that the preſent ſervants of the crown were appointed in a fair and conſtitutional manner. Mr. Powys embraced the opportunity to recommend in ſtrong terms a re-union of the Whig intereſts, and urged Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, as the leaders of the two parties, to make mutual conceſſions, and form a ſtrong and permanent miniſtry.

Nothing could have enabled the miniſtry to ſupport the unequal conteſt with the houſe of commons, but the voice of the people, which was expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt and moſt unequivocal terms in diſapprobation of the coalition and the meaſures they had purſued. The city of London led the way; and this addreſs was in the courſe of little more than ſix weeks followed, it is ſaid, by one hundred and twenty others from different counties, towns, and corporate bodies, approving of the late appointment of miniſters, and many of them urging a diſſolution of parliament. In the mean time the meaſure recommended by Mr. Powys was purſued with a laudable ſpirit by a large and reſpectable body of the independent members of parliament. On the 26th of January a meeting

was held at the St. Alban's Tavern, of fifty-three members of the houſe of commons, when addreſſes to the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt were drawn up and ſigned, recommending a coalition of the Whig party. At the ſame time private negociations were inſtituted; and ſome patriotic noblemen, in particular, warmly intereſted themſelves in this important and deſirable arrangement. As even the Coalition itſelf had not the imprudence or the effrontery to bring forward Lord Sandwich in any oſtenſible ſituation, Mr. Pitt objected to *one* only of the oppoſite party; and Lord North had the magnanimity to declare that, for the ſake of his country, he was ready to make the ſacrifice which was required, and would be no obſtacle to the union.

Unfortunately there was more pride than prudence in the Portland party, while the conduct of their adverſaries was directed by the moſt conſummate policy. As the great difficulty that remained, after the ſelf-denying declaration of Lord North, lay in the declaration of the Duke of Portland, that no negociation could be inſtituted till Mr. Pitt had reſigned; the laſt expedient ſuggeſted by the St. Alban's aſſociation was, that the Duke ſhould be requeſted by his Majeſty to have a perſonal conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpoſe of forming a new adminiſtration. In compliance therefore with this requiſition, a meſſage was delivered from the Chancellor of the Exchequer to his Grace, in which he ſignified "his Majeſty's earneſt deſire, that his Grace ſhould have a perſonal conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpoſe of forming a new adminiſtration on a wide baſis, and on *fair* and *equal* terms:" with this meſſage the Duke of Portland declared himſelf perfectly ſatisfied, as to the mode propoſed, but wiſhed to have the terms more

directly explained. To the word *fair* he could not object, as it was a general term; but the word *equal* was more ſpecific and limited; and therefore he wiſhed to know from Mr. Pitt the particular ſenſe which he intended that word to convey. To this Mr. Pitt replied, that a perſonal conference was the proper opportunity for explanations. Two other propoſals were made by the Duke: the firſt, that he ſhould be permitted to conſtrue the meſſage to imply a *virtual reſignation*; the ſecond, that he might receive his Majeſty's commands from his Sovereign in perſon; but both propoſals were rejected. Thus ended all hopes of a re-union of the Whig intereſt; and the meeting of the St. Alban's cloſed their efforts, with declaring "their infinite concern, that all further progreſs towards a union was prevented by a doubt reſpecting a ſingle word."

It was ſurpriſing that the acute diſcernment of Mr. Fox ſhould not have ſeen the increaſing popularity of the new miniſtry, and that he ſhould not have felt, that, ſhould the preſent temper of the people continue, Mr. Pitt muſt inevitably be able to fruſtrate every effort of that party; that to gain time was to the ultimate advantage of the miniſtry; and that even the late failure would be attributed rather to the obſtinacy of his own friends, than to their opponents.

On this occaſion the Portland party probably were deceived by the inſecure hope of a ſpeedy change in the ſentiments of the people; they flattered themſelves that the popularity of the miniſtry was founded on a general deluſion which would ſpeedily be diſſipated; but in this they evinced an unaccountable ignorance of human nature. All paſſions and prejudices, like the diſeaſes of the body, have their natural courſe; for a certain period they continue to

increaſe, and they ſubſide by ſlow, and often imperceptible degrees.

While the houſe of commons was proceeding in ſtrong votes for the purpoſe of unſettling the miniſtry, and were threatening to withhold the ſupplies, and reject the annual mutiny act; the houſe of lords, who, till the beginning of February, had been an inactive ſpectator of the conteſt, proceeded to vote two ſtrong reſolutions; the one, indirectly cenſuring the votes of the commons, relative to the iſſuing of the public money; and the other, aſſerting the undoubted prerogative of the crown to appoint its ſubordinate officers. To refuſe the ſupplies was, however, apparently too ſtrong a meaſure to hazard in the preſent temper of the people; and the commons contented themſelves with preferring three ſucceſſive addreſſes to the throne, intreating his Majeſty to remove all impediments to the formation of a ſtrong and ſtable adminiſtration, and preſſing, with this view, the diſmiſſion of the preſent miniſters. His Majeſty's anſwers reſted in general on the argument, that no ſpecific charges of criminality had been advanced againſt the miniſters; that a great proportion of the people had expreſſed their ſatisfaction at the change in his Majeſty's councils; and that he could not diſmiſs his preſent miniſters till he ſaw a proſpect of effecting ſuch a union as the houſe had recommended. On voting each of theſe ſucceſſive addreſſes, the Oppoſition were obſerved gradually to loſe ground, even in the houſe: the firſt was carried on the 20th of February, by a majority of twenty-one; the ſecond was voted on the 1ſt of March, by a majority of only twelve; and on the 8th of the ſame month, the votes were only one hundred and ninety-one to one hundred and ninety.

Several cauſes are aſſigned for this decreaſe of numbers among the Oppoſition. Some members were probably induced to change their party by the declarations of their conſtituents, and the fear of loſing their ſeats; and in other caſes the influence of the crown was ſuppoſed to be ſucceſsfully exerted through the medium of Mr. Robinſon, who, during Lord North's adminiſtration, had been a very induſtrious agent in what is uſually termed the management of the houſe of commons. However the change was effected, it ended in the complete triumph of the miniſtry. On the 10th of March the mutiny bill was paſſed without a diviſion; and the ſupplies having been all previouſly voted, with the exception only of the land and malt tax bills, on the 24th of the ſame month the parliament was prorogued, and on the ſucceeding day diſſolved by proclamation.

The event of the elections evinced, in a moſt ſtriking manner, the execration in which the Coalition was univerſally held. The real Whig party throughout the nation, thoſe who had been inimical to the American war, exerted ſucceſsfully their uſual activity; and even in many places where the ariſtocratic intereſt was ſuppoſed to be irreverſible, from the ſtrong exertions made by the independent electors, the reſult of the poll was ſuch as aſtoniſhed and diſappointed the candidates of that party.

Among the different deſcriptions of men in this country, the moſt ſteady, though perhaps not always the moſt judicious, friends of liberty and of the conſtitution, have been the Proteſtant Diſſenters. They had invariably oppoſed the American war, as being founded upon an unconſtitutional principle, viz. taxation without repreſentation. By long habit they had been attached to the family and the party of Lord Chatham. They contemplated

plated with enthuſiaſm the riſing abilities of his ſon; and his fair profeſſions of reform, and his active endeavours to procure a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament, had ſerved more ſtrongly to attach them. They abhorred the Coalition; and the preſent they conſidered as a conſtitutional ſtruggle againſt a parliament, who ſet at defiance the wiſhes and the inſtructions of their conſtituents. They conſidered the appointment of miniſters as the undoubted prerogative of the crown, ſubject only to the controul of parliament, and reſponſible to the public for their conduct; and the appeal from the houſe of commons, to the judgment of the people at large, was regarded as the triumph of liberty over faction and ariſtocracy. Theſe powerful auxiliaries, added to the natural influence of the crown, ſecured in moſt inſtances the ſucceſs of the new miniſters and their connexions. Upwards of one hundred and ſixty members loſt their ſeats; and of theſe, almoſt the whole number were the friends of the late adminiſtration.

In a conteſt ſupported with ſuch ardour by both parties, it is not ſurpriſing that many controverted caſes ſhould ariſe; but the moſt remarkable of theſe was, the ſcrutiny which ſucceeded the election for Weſtminſter.—The candidates were, Mr. Fox, Lord Hood, whoſe conſpicuous ſhare in our naval victories had pointed him out as the natural ſucceſſor of Lord Rodney, and Sir Cecil Wray, who had been originally introduced by Mr. Fox, but who had deſerted him on his forming the coalition with Lord North. The conteſt had continued with unprecedented ardour to the very day which was fixed for the return of the writ, the 17th of May, when the election cloſed with a majority of two hundred and thirty-five in favour of Mr. Fox.

In ſo vaſt a population as that of Weſtminſter, where every houſeholder is entitled to a vote, it may well be ſuppoſed that there is a wide field for deception and chicanery. It was aſſerted by the friends of Sir Cecil Wray, that more than a thouſand falſe votes had polled for Mr. Fox; and, at their earneſt ſolicitation, the high bailiff was perſuaded to grant a ſcrutiny; and that being the caſe, on the day of the meeting of parliament, the 18th of May, no return was made for the city of Weſtminſter. Mr. Fox proteſted on the ſpot againſt this proceeding; and having been introduced in the mean time into parliament, through the intereſt of Sir Thomas Dundas, for a Scottiſh borough, he took an early opportunity to remonſtrate againſt the proceedings of the high bailiff: but the houſe rejected the application, and the high bailiff was ordered to proceed with the ſcrutiny.

It would be tedious to enter into a detail of the conteſt: let it ſuffice to ſay, that the adroitneſs and activity, diſplayed by the friends of Mr. Fox in the courſe of the election, were exerted with equal ſucceſs in the ſcrutiny; and after a tedious litigation of nine months, and an immenſe expence, Sir Cecil Wray at laſt declined the further proſecution of it, and Mr. Fox and Lord Hood were returned. Mr. Fox afterwards recovered damages from the high bailiff in a court of law, to a conſiderable amount.

The only buſineſs which was tranſacted by the new parliament on the firſt day of their meeting, was the choice of a Speaker, when Mr. Cornwall was again placed in the chair. The following day, 19th of May, his Majeſty, in a ſpeech from the throne, expreſſed the ſatisfaction he experienced in meeting them, after recurring, at ſo important a moment, to the ſenſe of his people. He directed

their

their attention to the improvement of the revenue, and to the regulation of the Eaſt-India Company; intimating, at the ſame time, a hope, that, with reſpect to the latter, no meaſures would be adopted which might injure or affect the eſtabliſhed conſtitution.

The firſt meaſure of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, was a ſacrifice to the Eaſt-India Company. In purſuance of that part of his Majeſty's ſpeech which recommended an attention to the improvement of the revenue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved ſeveral reſolutions, as the foundation of the act, ſince known by the name of the Commutation Act. After enlarging on the alarming increaſe of ſmuggling, he ſtated, that, in the article of tea, one half only of the quantity conſumed was ſuppoſed to pay the legal duties; the only remedy therefore, he could deviſe for this evil, was, to lower the duty on tea to ſo ſmall an amount, as to make the profit on the illicit trade not adequate to the riſk; but as the lowering of the duty muſt inevitably create a deficiency in the revenue, this deficiency he propoſed to ſupply by an additional tax upon windows. This, he endeavoured to prove, ought not to be conſidered as an additional burden, but as a fair commutation, ſince, in moſt families where tea was uſed, they would be rather gainers on the whole in their houſehold expences. But the principal benefit, he obſerved, to be expected from this meaſure, was, the abſolute ruin of the ſmuggling trade, which, he ſaid, entirely ſubſiſted by the profit on their teas.

The candid mind will readily acquit Mr. Pitt of the imputations which have been caſt upon him, of intereſted or corrupt motives in this tranſaction. It has been ſaid, that he wiſhed to court the favour of the India Company, in order to reconcile them

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to the ſtrong meaſures which he had in contemplation with reſpect to them; and that he had a farther uſe for the mercantile intereſt which was to be profited on this occaſion. Theſe charges are certainly unfair and unfounded; and the meaſure is rather to be attributed to the inexperience of a miniſter, young both in years and in office, and who at a maturer period would certainly not have fallen into ſo egregious an error in finance.

The ſcheme is ſaid to be the original production of one of the *clerks* of the India houſe, who, to the ſhame of adminiſtration, if the aſſertion be true, is ſaid ſtill to enjoy a conſiderable penſion for the *ſublime* diſcovery! The fact with reſpect to its *origin*, may well be credited; for the meaſure bears evident marks of vulgar invention, and could only be the production of an ill-informed, uneducated mind, unable to embrace any ſcope of political reaſoning, or to raiſe its conceptions above the mechanical drudgery of the compting-houſe. How Mr. Pitt, young as he then was, could be induced to favour and adopt ſo puerile, ſo barren, ſo abſurd a project, is the only ſubject of admiration. That this cenſure is neither uncandid nor unjuſt, will unqueſtionably appear from a few plain, and, we truſt, not unfair conſiderations.

Firſt, It is evident that the tax is transferred from a mere luxury to one of the neceſſaries of life: a principle which has been univerſally condemned by every ſound or well-informed writer on politics or finance.

Secondly, An additional tax upon windows (properly ſpeaking, indeed, upon the income or expences of individuals) was one of the moſt obvious means of anſwering any future pecuniary emergency, which might occur in the courſe of

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our political tranſactions. Mr. Pitt, therefore, by this meaſure, *anticipated* the immenſe ſum of ſix hundred thouſand pounds *per ann.* that is, the intereſt of a LOAN OF TWELVE MILLIONS, without any decided object or benefit obtained to the nation; for its effects in preventing ſmuggling were, at beſt, but hypothetical and uncertain.

Thirdly, The meaſure *did not anſwer* the end propoſed with reſpect to the annihilation of ſmuggling; for it became neceſſary to prevent the ſmuggling of *foreign ſpirits* and other articles, by afterwards reducing the duty upon theſe very articles. The plan, therefore, of this *ſapient clerk of the India Houſe*, to be effectual in preventing ſmuggling, muſt be carried to the extent of taking the cuſtom-houſe duties off every article that can poſſibly be ſmuggled, or, in other words, almoſt annihilating that branch of the revenue.

Fourthly, What was really effected as to the repreſſing of ſmuggling, was afterwards effected by the obvious means of increaſing the number of revenue cutters, &c. and by enacting ſevere laws againſt the practice.

Fifthly, The tax which was before paid upon tea was optional; and thoſe taxes which are ſo, if productive, are the beſt, becauſe they are the leaſt grievous and oppreſſive: but the new window tax was a kind of poll tax, by which all perſons were indiſcriminately aſſeſſed, whether by drinking tea they reaped any benefit from the pretended commutation or not. In this view the new tax was very properly compared to the *Gabelle* or ſalt tax in France, by which every man was *compelled* to take a certain quantity of that commodity, whether he wanted it or not.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, The tax upon tea was not only a tax upon a luxury, but it was *equally levied*; but the new window-tax, from the circumſtance of all houſes which contain *above* a certain number of windows being rated at a certain ſum, and from thoſe who have *ſeveral* houſes paying only for *two*, does not fall ſo heavy, in proportion, upon the great, as upon the middling claſſes of ſociety.

Seventhly, As far as the poor were concerned in this meaſure, it only held forth a temptation to them to exchange their former wholeſome articles of diet, ſuch as milk, beer, &c. for a moſt pernicious beverage, and for the worſt and moſt unwholeſome ſpecies of it.

Eighthly, The India Company, the Dutch, and the Chineſe, were, in reality, the ſole gainers by the meaſure:—the profits they made were immenſe, and the arts they practiſed on the public truly cenſurable. Quantities of unſaleable teas, which had been, for a ſeries of years, rotting in the Company's warehouſes, were ſaid, on this occaſion, to be poured out upon the public. The Dutch emptied upon England all the ſweepings of their warehouſes; and at China it is become, we are aſſured, an employment to provide baſe and adulterated teas, at a low rate, to ſupply the Britiſh market.

Ninthly, It remains for the conſideration of politicians, whether the commerce with China is really beneficial to this country or not; and it lies with them to determine what quantity of our manufactures they take in exchange for what is to them a moſt lucrative commerce.

Theſe and ſeveral other arguments were ſtated in the houſe; but ſuch was the popularity of Mr. Pitt,

Pitt, that the bill paſſed both houſes by a great majority, and even with applauſe.

The bill introduced by Mr. Pitt, nearly about the ſame time, for the further prevention of ſmuggling, was on the whole leſs exceptionable. In its original ſtate, however, it contained one clauſe which juſtly excited the apprehenſions and the cenſure of the mercantile part of the nation. That clauſe propoſed to render the owners of ſhips amenable for the conduct of the officers and mariners, by ſubjecting the whole of the veſſel and cargo to confiſcation, for any contraband article which might be found on board: this, it was remarked, was to annex impunity to guilt, and puniſhment to innocence. After a long conteſt, therefore, Mr. Pitt was induced to mitigate the clauſe, ſo far as to ſubmit the circumſtances of the caſe to the deciſion of a jury.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion, Mr. Pitt's India Bill was paſſed by a vaſt majority; and the powers of the board of controul were extended greatly beyond what was claimed by the bill in its original ſtate. This board, by the new bill, was authoriſed, not only to negative the orders of the directors, but were alſo enabled to tranſmit their own orders to India, without the concurrence of that court; and theſe orders were in all caſes to claim the precedence. The powers of the governor general were alſo enlarged. Various other reſtrictions were made on the patronage of the directors and company; and a new court was eſtabliſhed for the trial of India delinquents, which was to conſiſt of three judges, four peers, and ſix members of the houſe of commons, to be choſen by lot out of a liſt of twenty-ſix, which were to be ballotted

ballotted for at the commencement of every ſeſſions.

Beſides the objections which had been formerly urged againſt the bill, the enlargement of the board of controul was violently exclaimed againſt by the Oppoſition, as inconſiſtent with all Mr. Pitt's former profeſſions, and as proceeding upon the very principle, on account of which he firſt objected to Mr. Fox's bill. It was alſo remarked, that the clauſes reſpecting offenſive wars, diſobedience of orders, &c. which exiſted in Mr. Fox's bill in their full undiminiſhed force, were in this rendered nugatory by ſeveral exceptions and limitations; and the trial of delinquents, it was urged, would have been better provided for, by adhering to the ancient conſtitutional form of a trial by jury, than by the new court.

The ſupplies for the current year demanded a loan of ſix millions, which was negociated by Mr. Pitt, at about five per cent. with a douceur to the ſubſcribers of ſix lottery tickets on every thouſand pounds. The unfunded debt amounted, at this period, to thirteen millions, only one half of which the Chancellor propoſed to fund for the preſent; and it was accordingly inveſted in a five per cent. fund. The new taxes were a ſtamp duty upon hats, a duty upon ribbons and gauzes; the perpetuation of the duty upon coals in the port of London, which had been originally inſtituted for the building of fifty new churches. Taxes were alſo impoſed on printed linens and callicoes, on candles, on licences for killing game; with additional duties on paper and hackney coaches.

The ſeſſion cloſed with a very popular meaſure, that of reſtoring the eſtates forfeited in Scotland, in

1745.

1745, for high treaſon; and the parliament roſe on the 20th of Auguſt.

In the courſe of the ſummer, the Emperor of Germany, in addition to his demand of a free navigation of the Scheldt, revived a dormant claim upon the United Provinces; in conſequence of which he required the ceſſion of the city of Maeſtricht, agreably to a treaty in 1672, with one of his predeceſſors, which had never been ratified. In order alſo to put the temper of the States to a deciſive proof, he diſpatched a veſſel from Antwerp down the Scheldt, with orders to refuſe all ſearch or duties at the Dutch forts. On the 8th of October ſhe was fired into by a cutter, belonging to Admiral Van Reynſt's ſquadron, which lay towards the mouth of the river; and the captain ſtill perſevering in his reſolution not to return to Antwerp, the veſſel was taken poſſeſſion of by the Dutch. This circumſtance was immediately conſtrued by the Emperor into a commencement of hoſtilities: his ambaſſador withdrew from the Hague, and immenſe preparations were made for war. The Dutch, in the mean time, opened their dykes near fort Lillo, and in every part where they conceived themſelves vulnerable; but as the republic was entirely governed, at this period, by a faction in the intereſt of France, to that court they moſt confidently directed their views, either for mediation or defence. The concluſion of the diſpute will belong more properly to another part of the narrative. In the mean time the operations of the Emperor were impeded by an alarming inſurrection which took place among the peaſants of Tranſylvania and Wallachia, but which was ſoon quelled; by the new engagements into which he had entered with the

the court of Ruſſia, and by ſome ſymptoms of diſcontent in the Auſtrian Netherlands.

The weakneſs of the Spaniſh nation, in military operations, was, in the courſe of this year, moſt deciſively evinced. The petty ſtate of Algiers had long been an object of alarm to the court of Spain; and ſhe embraced the firſt interval of tranquillity to relieve herſelf from the piratical enterpriſs of th at republic, by demoliſhing its capital. No expence was ſpared in fitting out a formidable armament; and, as if conſcious of her own imbecillity, Spain called in the aſſiſtance of Portugal and Naples. The combined force amounted to more than one hundred and thirty ſail of veſſels of different force and burden, well manned and appointed, and under the command of Don Antonio Barcelo. The allied armament arrived before Algiers on the 9th of July, but found the Infidels much better prepared for their reception than they had expected. In the firſt conflict, which was violent, ſome boats were blown up on both ſides, and the town was ſet on fire by the ſhells. The damage, however, does not appear to have been great; and in ſeven ſucceeding attacks, which took place between the 12th and 21ſt of July, the Spaniards were never able to approach near enough for the ſhells to take effect. In all theſe attacks they were completely foiled; and a dreadful tempeſt coming on in the night of the 22d of July, they were obliged to leave their anchors behind them, and bid a diſhonourable adieu to the hoſtile city.

In the beginning of the year 1784, a moſt ſingular revolution was effected in Denmark. The Queen dowager of that kingdom was originally a petty princeſs of Germany, and like all the female branches of the ariſtocracy of that country, poſſeſſed

poſſeſſed an inſatiable deſire for political authority. The mental weakneſs of her ſon afforded a full opportunity for the gratification of her ambition. The unfortunate death of the late queen ſeemed to rivet the chains of this devoted country under the oppreſſive yoke of German deſpotiſm. The infant prince was little regarded, and the whole nation was governed by a cabal, chiefly of foreigners; and there is every reaſon to believe, that every thing flagitious and corrupt was committed under the ſhadow of the regal authority. In the mean time the young prince, who from the age of eight years had been placed under the care of General Erchſted, one of the miniſters of ſtate diſplayed the moſt forward and manly abilities and accompliſhments; and the hopes of a dejected people were by a kind of ſudden impulſe directed to him for relief and emancipation. The firſt great point which was attained was the prince, who was then in his eighteenth year, being declared of age on the 14th of April: and this was the prelude to the diſſolution of the German cabal; for he had ſcarcely taken his ſeat in the privy council, before he profeſſed himſelf the friend of popular meaſures. He declared againſt general warrants, that moſt fatal inſtrument of tyranny; and ſhortly after diſmiſſed all the creatures of the queen dowager, informing them that his father had no farther occaſion for their ſervices. The public officers received inſtructions, no longer to obey the orders of the old cabinet. Counts Rozencrantz and Bernſtoff, the former miniſters, were recalled from their long exile. A new plan of adminiſtration, ſaid to be drawn up by the prince, was eſtabliſhed; and a new council, of which the prince was preſident, was appointed.

Thus, without bloodſhed, and it may be ſaid, even without violence, this happy revolution was effected; and as avarice is a paſſion no leſs powerful in the Germans than ambition, the queen dowager was in ſome meaſure compenſated for the loſs of her power by a munificent donation of the ſuperb caſtle of Frederickſburgh, in Holſtein, with extenſive demeſnes, which ſhe was farther authoriſed to bequeath to her poor relations.

The wiſeſt meaſures have ſince been purſued by the new government; commerce and literature have been equally encouraged; a ſyſtem wiſely pacific has been ſteadily purſued. Great retrenchments were made in the public expenditure, and œconomy recommended, not only by precept, but by the example of the court. The prince is a ſtranger to every ſpecies of faſhionable diſſipation, and ſpends his leiſure hours in the company of learned men, and in canvaſſing different projects for the improvement of his dominions. He has founded ſeminaries of learning; and to excel in any department of literature or ſcience, is the moſt powerful of recommendations to his favour.

1785 The parliamentary ſeſſion commenced on the 25th of January; and the firſt days were ſpent in an altercation concerning the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny. The principal argument on the ſide of Oppoſition was, that if a diſcretionary power was veſted in returning officers, of delaying the return beyond the appointed period, ſome of the moſt important places might remain unrepreſented for an indefinite period, after the meeting of parliament, to the infinite prejudice of the moſt momentous intereſts of the nation. On the miniſterial ſide, the rights of the electors, and the purpoſes of ſubſtantial juſtice, were pleaded, which, it was urged, the parliament could not patiently ſuffer

ſuffer to be invaded. It was obſerved, that the evil complained of in this inſtance, could never operate to any conſiderable extent, nor be accommodated to ſerve the purpoſes of a miniſter, as there were few places where the electors were ſo numerous as in Weſtminſter, and conſequently few where either the poll or the ſcrutiny could poſſibly be protracted to ſuch a duration.

Another circumſtance which produced ſome debate, was, an order iſſued by the board of controul, in oppoſition to the court of directors, for the payment of the Nabob of Arcot's debts. Theſe debts were repreſented, by the Oppoſition, as of a moſt ſuſpicious and uſurious nature. Many of his loans, it was aſſerted, bore an intereſt of thirty-ſix pounds per cent. and for a nominal debt of eight hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, which he had contracted to the Company's ſervants, Mr. Burke expreſſed his doubts, whether the Nabob had ever actually received one hundred thouſand pounds in real money.

The reform of the repreſentation was incidentally introduced by Lord Surrey, on the firſt day of the meeting of parliament; and it produced a converſation of ſome length, between Lord North and the miniſter; but it has been aſſerted by ſome perſons, that Mr. Pitt was, on this occaſion, obſerved to ſpeak of the ſubject in much more cautious and guarded terms, than while he was not in office. Lord North requeſted an explanation of Mr. Wyvill's circular letter, in which he had ſtated, that "Mr. Pitt had promiſed to exert his whole power, both as a miniſter and a man, honeſtly and boldly to carry a propoſition of parliamentary reform." His lordſhip remarked, that he preſumed theſe words meant to convey an idea, "that a *miniſter could* do more than a *man*" in effecting the

object; but that the addition of *honeſtly* and *boldly*, ſeemed to imply a ſuſpicion "that the *miniſter would not* do ſo much as the man." To this ſarcaſm Mr. Pitt replied, that he was not the author of the letter, and therefore could not pretend to aſcertain what might be the preciſe ideas of the writer; but it appeared to him, that the words meant, that, in whatever ſituation he might be placed, whether public or private, in or out of office, it was his determination to exert himſelf to procure a reform. "With reſpect to the words *honeſtly* and *boldly*, he ſuppoſed the noble lord, from the experience of his own uſe of power, while in office, was induced to think it an impoſſible thing for a miniſter to act honeſtly and boldly."

Neither the preſſing ſolicitation of Lord Surrey, nor the ſarcaſtic obſervations of Lord North, appear to have ſtimulated the miniſter to any premature exertions on this ſubject, as it was the 18th of April before the queſtion was brought under the conſideration of the houſe. On that day Mr. Pitt introduced a new plan, the ſubſtance of which was, to tranſfer the right of electing repreſentatives from thirty-ſix of ſuch boroughs as had already fallen, or were falling into decay, to the counties, and to ſuch of the principal towns as were unrepreſented; and to provide a fund for an appreciated compenſation to the proprietors of ſuch boroughs. He wiſhed further to extend the right of voting for knights of the ſhire, to copyholders as well as freeholders. The plan was, however, objected to by ſome of the moſt ſtrenuous advocates for a reform; and Mr. Fox, in particular, cenſured in ſtrong terms, the propoſal of *purchaſing* the boroughs in queſtion, though he approved of transferring the right of chooſing repreſentatives from them to the counties and principal towns. The motion was re-

jected after a long and desultory debate, in which many personal and offensive allusions were introduced on both sides of the house, by two hundred and forty-eight votes against one hundred and seventy-four.

Previous to voting the supplies for the year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer submitted to the house a general review of the national finances. The whole of the public expenditure he estimated at fourteen millions, four hundred thousand pounds per annum; and he produced several calculations, which served to ascertain the product of the permanent taxes at twelve millions, or rather at twelve millions and a half. The land and malt tax, at two millions, four hundred and fifty thousand pounds, added to the computed produce of the other taxes, he expected would leave nearly a million to the sinking fund, for the discharge of the national debt.

The aggregate amount of the supplies for this year, Mr. Pitt stated at nine millions, seven hundred and thirty-seven thousand, eight hundred and sixty-eight pounds; and he proposed funding ten million ten thousand pounds of the debt, which had been left unfunded. He preferred, for this purpose, the five per cent. stock, as being more easily paid off than any other. The objects of taxation were, annual licences to coach-makers, at one pound each; certificates for killing game, two pound two shillings; retail shops, at the rate of one shilling in the pound, on the rent of the house, from four pounds to ten pounds, and in proportion to twenty-five pounds per annum, and then two shillings in the pound: new four-wheeled carriages, one pound on each; and two-wheeled carriages, ten shillings each; and seven pounds per annum on each four-wheeled carriage now kept; and three pounds ten

ſhillings on each two-wheeled carriage: female ſervants, two ſhillings and ſixpence, and an increaſe of the taxes on ſervants kept by bachelors; licences to attorneys, five pounds per annum; poſt-horſes, one halfpenny per mile; gloves, from one penny to four-pence per pair, *ad valorem*; warrants of attorney, two ſhillings and ſixpence. Of theſe taxes, thoſe on female ſervants, and on retail ſhop-keepers, excited the moſt violent oppoſition.

The moſt important buſineſs, however, in which parliament was engaged in the courſe of the ſeſſion, was, the attempt to eſtabliſh a commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland. The latter country had been in a ſtate of diſtreſs, and almoſt of inſurrection, from the year 1782. The manufacturers were ſtarving and rebellious, and ſeveral expedients had been tried in vain for their relief. In the year 1784, Mr. Gardener attempted to reſtrict the importation of Engliſh drapery, by ſubjecting it to a tax of two ſhillings and ſixpence per yard; but as the motion was rejected in the houſe of commons, the people became ſtill farther exaſperated, and were only reſtrained from the moſt violent exceſſes by the interference of the military.

In this ſtate of things, the neceſſity of placing the commercial tranſactions of the two kingdoms under proper and equitable regulations, became every day more apparent; and a plan was concerted between the cabinet of Great Britain and certain commiſſioners appointed on the part of Ireland, for eſtabliſhing the whole of the intercourſe on a proper and permanent baſis. On the 11th of February, a ſeries of reſolutions were paſſed in the Iriſh parliament; and ſoon after, Mr. Pitt ſubmitted ſome ſimilar propoſitions to the Britiſh houſe of commons

commons. For a variety of reaſons, it would be uſeleſs to enter into the detail of this arrangement: perſpicuity, in this inſtance, will be found moſt conſiſtent with brevity; and the general ſpirit of the propoſitions, may be compriſed under two heads.

Firſt, the importation of the produce of our colonies through Ireland into Great Britain.

Secondly, a mutual exchange of the reſpective productions and manufactures of the two countries, upon *equal terms*; that is, ſubject to equal duties.

The importation of the produce of the colonies through Ireland, Mr. Pitt admitted to be an infringement of the navigation acts; but as Ireland had already been admitted to trade directly with the colonies, to allow the introduction of their produce, through the medium of that country, he could not conceive would injure the trading intereſts of this, as we had a direct intercourſe with them ourſelves, and therefore could certainly carry on the trade at leſs riſk and expence than in a circuitous manner.

With regard to the ſecond object, Mr. Pitt ſtated, that he had conſulted the principal manufacturers and merchants in the kingdom, who had ſignified their approbation of the plan, for reducing the duties payable on the importation of Iriſh produce and manufactures, to a level with what was charged on the ſame articles manufactured in this country.

In return for theſe conceſſions, he propoſed, that Ireland ſhould agree to the payment of an annual ſum, out of the ſurplus of her revenue, towards the general expences of the empire.

The propoſitions remained before the houſe, during the months of March and April; but the miniſter found himſelf greatly miſtaken, with regard to the ſentiments of the merchants and ma-

nufacturers; ſince, inſtead of manifeſting any marks of approbation, a general ſpirit of oppoſition was excited throughout the country; petitions were preſented againſt them, and evidence was called to the bar of the houſe, to prove their injurious tendency.

After having been ſubmitted to a long and ſevere nveſtigation, the propoſitions were new modelled by the miniſter; and on the 12th of May, they were again preſented, with ſeveral additions, for the further conſideration of the houſe. The additional matter introduced, may be reduced to the following principles:

Firſt, That whatever navigation laws the Britiſh parliament ſhould hereafter enact, for the preſervation of her marine, the ſame ſhould be paſſed in Ireland.

Secondly, All Weſt-India merchandizes, other than the growth of our own colonies, were prohibited from being imported into Ireland, and thence into Great Britain.

Thirdly, Ireland was to be completely excluded from the Eaſt-India trade, ſo long as the Eaſt-India Company ſhould endure.

The whole of the propoſitions encountered a moſt vigorous oppoſition in the Engliſh houſe of commons. The injury which the manufactures of Great Britain muſt ſuſtain from this ſyſtem, was ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on; ſince it was evident that the comparatively low price of labour in that kingdom, muſt enable the Iriſh to underſell us, both at home and abroad. The facility with which ſmuggling was carried on in Ireland, was alſo forcibly urged againſt the free importation from that country; ſince it would not be poſſible to prevent the clandeſtine introduction of the moſt important articles through that channel; and the competition which would

would ariſe between the two kingdoms, in attempting to underſell each other, it was added, would increaſe the evil.

The moſt formidable oppoſition, however, was made to that propoſition, which would bind the legiſlature of Ireland to the ſanctioning of ſuch navigation laws, as Great Britain ſhould judge it neceſſary to enact. This, it was aſſerted, was aſſuming both a preſent and a future power to bind Ireland by ſuch acts as England might paſs with reſpect to both kingdoms. This was directly contrary to what had been ſtipulated, namely, that Ireland was in future to be bound only by her own ſtatutes. It was a reſumption of the right of legiſlating for Ireland: it was purchaſing Iriſh ſlavery at the expence of Engliſh commerce.

In defence of the propoſitions it was argued, that, without them, all that had been already done for Ireland would be nugatory and fruitleſs; that they could not prove injurious to Engliſh commerce and manufactures, ſince, though the wages of common labourers in huſbandry was lower than in England, the wages of artizans and mechanics were actually higher; and that it would be the peculiar care of Great Britain, to prevent ſmuggling in Ireland, as well as in Great Britain.

In favour of the propoſition relative to the navigation laws, it was urged, that ſuch a ſtipulation was eſſential to the ſecurity of our own commerce; and that the condition had even been frequently adopted, in the treaties and negociations with independent ſtates.

After having been thus agitated in the commons, for the protracted period of three months, the propoſitions were at length finally paſſed by a large majority on the 30th of May; and after having received the aſſent of the lords, they were moulded

moulded into a bill, which was read a firſt time on the 28th of July, and reſerved till the Iriſh parliament ſhould intimate its concurrence in the meaſure.

In Ireland, ſome objections were urged againſt the propoſitions, which were not brought forward in the Engliſh parliament, as being expreſsly adapted to the ſituation of that kingdom. The perpetual diſpoſition of her hereditary revenue, and the ſurrender of the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, were ſpoken of in ſtrong terms of diſapprobation; and whatever had the leaſt appearance of infringing on the legiſlative independence of Ireland, was marked and ſtigmatized with the utmoſt indignation and contempt. On the ſide of Oppoſition, Mr. Grattan and Mr. Flood were the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſpeakers. The former of theſe gentlemen, after ſtating the preſent ſituation of Ireland, with reſpect to the advantages ſhe had already acquired, compared it with the condition it would be left in by the ſyſtem now propoſed. "See," he exclaimed, "what you obtained without compenſation; a "colony trade, a free trade, the independency of "your judges, the government of your army, the "extenſion of the conſtitutional powers of your "council, the reſtoration of the judicature of your "lords, and the independency of your legiſlature. "See now what you obtain by compenſation; "a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of "Good Hope, and the Streights of Magellan; "a covenant not to take foreign plantation pro-"duce, but as the parliament of Great Britain ſhall "permit; a covenant not to take Britiſh planta-"tion produce, but as Great Britain ſhall pre-"ſcribe; a covenant not to take certain produce "of the United States of North America, but as "Great Britain ſhall permit; a covenant to make "ſuch acts of navigation as Great Britain ſhall "preſcribe;

" preſcribe; a covenant never to protect your own " manufactures, never to guard the *primum* of " thoſe manufactures."

The propoſitions were defended by Mr. Fitzgibbon, ſince lord-chancellor; by Mr. Hutchinſon, the provoſt of Trinity College; and by Mr. Foſter, the chancellor of the exchequer. The chief arguments in their favour were derived from the great conceſſions which were made in them by Great Britain. The linen trade was ſecured to Ireland; and the colony trade was given her in the ampleſt extent. The Britiſh markets were opened to Iriſh manufactures; and, as theſe manufactures would be re-exported, with a draw-back of all duties, the Iriſh, it was ſaid, would be enabled to carry on a lucrative commerce, on the foundation of Britiſh capital.

In defence of the obnoxious clauſe, which was conſtrued into a right of legiſlating for Ireland, it was aſſerted, that ſhould any navigation laws be at a future period enacted by Great Britain, which might prove injurious or diſſatisfactory to Ireland, it would ſtill be in the power of that country to renounce thoſe laws, by abrogating the whole of the preſent agreement.

It was the 12th of Auguſt, when the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant moved for leave to bring in a bill correſpondent to that of the Britiſh miniſter; but ſo reluctant were the Iriſh to every meaſure that bore the leaſt appearance of an infringement upon their newly-acquired privileges, that the whole intereſt of miniſtry was only able to carry the motion by nineteen votes. So ſmall a majority therefore, on ſo important a meaſure, was conſidered as a defeat; and the whole of the projected arrangement was tacitly relinquiſhed in both kingdoms,

kingdoms; and no efforts have ſince been made for its revival in either.

A numerous and active party in Ireland had long been engaged in a ſeries of meaſures, to effect a reform in the national repreſentation. Several petitions had been preſented on the ſubject to his Majeſty, through the medium of Mr. Chancellor Pitt, whoſe concurrence in the meaſure was not doubted, from the ſtrenuous exertions which he had made before he became a miniſter. As, however, no effect appeared to reſult from the petitions, in the latter end of 1784 it was determined that a national congreſs ſhould be choſen for the promotion of this important object; and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of government were exerted to prevent it, the meeting took place on the 25th of October, and again, by adjournment, on the 2d of January, 1785. At this congreſs, repreſentatives from twenty-ſeven counties and the moſt conſiderable cities and towns aſſembled, to the number of upwards of two hundred. Their final meeting was held on the 20th of April; and a bill, framed according to the ſentiments of the majority of delegates, was introduced in the houſe of commons by Mr. Flood, and on the 12th of May was rejected.

The Engliſh parliament roſe on the 2d of Auguſt, and that of Ireland on the 7th of September.

At the cloſe of the year 1784, we left the Emperor of Germany embarraſſed with his domeſtic reforms, and with the adventurous project of opening the navigation of the Scheldt. In the beginning of 1785 the politicians of Europe were ſurpriſed by a new enterpriſe of this active and eccentric monarch. The Houſe of Auſtria had long regarded the Duchy of Bavaria as a deſirable acquiſition;

quiſition; and the failure of the court of Vienna, in its inſidious attempt, on the death of the late Elector, to annex to its dominion a part of that electorate, ſeems rather to have increaſed than to have repreſſed the deſire of poſſeſſing it. In the courſe of the year 1784 a very ſingular negociation was opened between the Emperor and the Elector Palatine. The baſis of the treaty between the two powers, was ſuppoſed to be the exchange of Bavaria for the Auſtrian Netherlands, which were to be erected into a kingdom, under the revived denomination of Auſtraſia. The exchange muſt have been highly advantageous to Auſtria, not only from the propinquity of Bavaria to the hereditary dominions of the Emperor, but from the precarious tenure by which the Netherlands appeared to be retained at that period. The plan would have given a compactneſs to the dominions of Auſtria, and would have relieved that court from the neceſſity of defending, in caſe of a rupture with France, a detached territory, the frontier of which it is not eaſy to preſerve unbroken.

The lure to the Elector Palatine muſt have been the faſcination of a crown. The treaty was, however, ſo little agreeable to the Duke of Deux-Ponts, the preſumptive heir and ſucceſſor of the Elector, that on his receiving the firſt notice of the negociation, which he did through the Empreſs of Ruſſia, he loſt no time in claiming the interference of the King of Pruſſia, as guarantee to the treaty of Teſchen, by which the Duchy of Bavaria had been ſecured to the lawful heirs. The States of Bavaria alſo caught the alarm, and ſo impracticable did it appear, in the face of theſe impediments, to proceed in the treaty, that both the courts of Vienna and Munich were obliged, in the beginning of February 1785, publicly to contradict

dict the report, and to aſſert, that the convention between them, had no farther object than the adjuſtment of the limits of their reſpective countries.

Perhaps no potentate was ever more unſucceſsful in all his different projects, than the Emperor Joſeph. He had flattered himſelf that his near connexion with the Queen of France, would have prevented that court from taking any decided part in favour of Holland, relative to the opening of the Scheldt; but the French cabinet was too firm to be ſhaken by the intreaties of the Queen; and the determined tone in which they inſiſted on the obſervance of the treaty of Weſtphalia, united with the indiſpoſition manifeſted by the Germanic body to the plans of the Emperor, obliged him at length to retract even this favourite ſcheme. The negociation with the States of Holland, was carried on during the greater part of the ſummer, under the mediation of France. In the mean time, the deputies of the States ſatisfied the pride of the Emperor by a public apology for the inſult offered to his flag: preliminary articles were therefore ſigned at Paris on the 20th of September 1785, and the definitive treaty in the November following. The treaty of Munſter was the baſis of the new compact. The independent ſovereignty of the Scheldt was ſecured to the Emperor, from Antwerp to the county of Saftingen; beyond that limit, the whole of the river to the ſea, with the canals of the Sa, &c. were declared the excluſive property of the States-general. The forts of Kruiſchans, Frederick, Henry, Lillo, and Lieſkenſhock, were evacuated by the Dutch.

By the ſame treaty, the Emperor renounced his claim upon Maeſtricht; the ſtates paying him in conſideration nine millions and a half of florins, and half a million more, as an indemnification for the damages

damages which his ſubjects ſuſtained by the inundations.

The pacific diſpoſitions of the Emperor were not only promoted by the firmneſs of the French court, but by the formidable confederation which his extravagant pretenſions produced, for maintaining the indiviſibility of the Empire, the rights of the Germanic body in general, and of the reſpective ſtates in particular. This treaty was ſigned at Berlin, the 23d of January 1785; the principal parties being the King of Pruſſia, the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, and the Elector of Saxony. The Duke of Deux-Ponts, the Margrave of Anſpach, the King of Sweden, and other powers, are ſaid afterwards to have acceded to it.

The grounds and reaſons of this treaty were afterwards explained and defended in a declaration, iſſued by the King of Pruſſia at Berlin, on the 23d of Auguſt. In this inſtrument, he principally inſiſts on the danger to be apprehended to Europe, from the riſing power of Auſtria, and ſhews that the addition of ſo extenſive and flouriſhing a country as Bavaria, to the dominions of that ambitious houſe, muſt effectually deſtroy the balance of Germany, if not of Europe; and muſt end in the annihilation of all the petty ſtates which enter into the compoſition of the Germanic body.

Before the concluſion of the year, another alliance was concluded, between the Dutch republic and the King of France; and the conſequence of this connexion, and of the amicable termination of the diſpute with the Emperor, proved the ruin of the Stadtholder's intereſt in Holland. Independent, indeed, of the preponderancy of France in the Dutch councils; from ſeveral circumſtances, the Stadtholder had become obnoxious to a con-

ſiderable body of the people. His marked averſion to any connexion with France, and to the treaty with the United States of America; his near relation in blood to the King of England, and his ſuppoſed predilection for the Britiſh intereſts; all ſerved to render him unpopular; and the diſgraceful and ruinous conduct of the war, converted ſuſpicion into actual cenſure, and jealouſy into accuſation. The force, it was ſaid, which was committed to his charge, had not been exerted with energy or vigour; the naval part in particular, it was alledged, had been ſhamefully neglected; it had been withheld where it was moſt wanted, and miſapplied even where it was employed. As the charges were general, they admitted only of a general reply. The Stadtholder aſſerted in his own vindication, that the weak and decayed condition of their navy rendered it incapable of performing the expected ſervices, and the blame, in this inſtance, lay not with him, but with the States themſelves. It was in vain that the prince challenged his adverſaries to inquiry and proof; they contented themſelves with the clamour which had been already excited againſt him: only one ſpecific charge was produced, which was, upon the ſubject of the Dutch fleet not having proceeded to Breſt, according to compact in 1782, when a general attack was to have been made on Great Britain by the allied powers.

The republican party was however too ſtrong to be reſiſted; and, in the States of Holland and Weſt Friezland particularly, the people might be almoſt ſaid to be unanimous on their ſide. The armed aſſociations alſo, which had been formed throughout all the provinces, upon the appearance of hoſtilities with the Emperor, contributed greatly to ſtrengthen this faction, and to ſanction them in the

the boldeſt and moſt violent meaſures. On the pretext of a riot at the Hague, to repreſs which, it was aſſerted, the garriſon had not properly exerted themſelves, the Statholder was deprived of the government and command of that garriſon; even his own body guard, which conſiſted principally of Swiſs, was diſmiſſed; and the Prince himſelf retired to his own city of Breda, and the Princeſs to Weſt-Friezland.

That ſtate of human affairs which is moſt
1786 conducive to the general happineſs of mankind, is commonly moſt barren of political incident. The tranquillity which pervaded Europe in general, during this period, leaves little to the pen of hiſtory to record, and ſtill leſs to the philanthropiſt to deplore. The attention of thoſe ſtates which had ſo lately been convulſed and oppreſſed by the barbarous rage of war, was now directed to the ſalutary taſk of repairing their injured finances, or improving their dilapidated commerce. The Britiſh parliament aſſembled on the 24th of January, 1786; and the firſt object that engaged their attention, was, a plan propoſed by the Duke of Richmond, as maſter-general of the ordnance, for the fortification of the dock-yards at Portſmouth and Plymouth. The outlines of this ſcheme had, by his Majeſty's command, been ſubmitted, in the courſe of the preceding ſummer, to the examination of a board of land and ſea officers, whoſe report was afterwards examined by a board of engineers, for the purpoſe of forming a proper eſtimate of the expence. On the 10th of February, the eſtimate, which amounted to no leſs a ſum than ſeven hundred and ſixty thouſand and ninety-ſeven pounds, was preſented to the houſe of commons by Mr. Pitt; and on the 16th, Mr. Sheridan, agreeably to the recommendation of Ge-

neral Burgoyne, who was one of the board of general officers, moved for a copy of their report, which was acceded to by the miniſter. The ſubject was brought under the conſideration of the houſe, in the form of a reſolution, approving of the plan and eſtimate, as propoſed by the miniſter; and a debate of ſome length enſued, in which Mr. Sheridan was the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſpeaker. He objected to the propoſal in the firſt place, upon general and conſtitutional grounds; and ſtrongly recommended "a conſtitutional jealouſy" of every augmentation of the military force of the nation. "It was, he ſaid, the nature of kings, to love "power, and in the conſtitution of armies to obey "kings." It was the duty of parliament, he added, on every occaſion, to look forward with a ſuſpicious eye to the fatal conſequences of ſuch augmentation, ſhould that force, by any unforeſeen and unhappy chance, be ever entruſted to improper hands; otherwiſe they "burleſqued and derided "the wiſdom of their anceſtors in the proviſions "of the bill of rights, and made a mere mockery "of the ſalutary and ſacred reſerve, with which, "for a ſhort and limited period, they annually "entruſted the executive magiſtrate with the ne-"ceſſary defence of the country."

The ſecond ground on which Mr. Sheridan objected to the motion was, that the report itſelf of the board of general officers did not warrant or authoriſe the ſyſtem. He ſaid that, mutilated as the report appeared before the houſe, it was ſtill evident, that ſo far from having received the unanimous ſanction of the board, from the reference which was made to the minutes of the *naval* officers, there was reaſon to believe that thoſe minutes contained a condemnation of the plan. He contended alſo, that the opinion of the *land* officers

was founded upon hypothetical and and conditional ſuggeſtions, and upon ſuch *data* as the maſter-general had propoſed to them; for the truth or probability of which, the board invariably refuſed to make themſelves reſponſible. He added, "that "his Grace deſerved the warmeſt panegyrics for "the ſtriking proofs which he had given of his "genius as an engineer, which appeared even in "the planning and conſtructing of the report in "queſtion; the profeſſional ability of the maſter-"general ſhone conſpicuouſly there, as it would "upon our coaſts: he had made an argument "of poſts, and conducted his reaſoning upon "principles of trigonometry, as well as of logic. "There were certain detached *data*, like advanced "works, to keep the enemy at a diſtance from the "main object in debate; ſtrong proviſions co-"vered the flanks of his aſſertions; his very que-"ries were in caſements: no impreſſion, therefore, "was to be made on this fortreſs of ſophiſtry, by "deſultory obſervations: and it was neceſſary to "ſit down before it, and aſſail it by regular "approaches. It was fortunate, however," he ſaid, "to obſerve, that notwithſtanding all the "ſkill employed by the noble and literary engi-"neer, his mode of defence on paper was open to "the ſame objections which had been urged againſt "his other fortifications;—that if his adverſary "got poſſeſſion of one of his poſts, it became "ſtrength againſt him, and the means of ſubduing "the whole line of his argument."

Mr. Sheridan proceeded to ſhew, that the *data* themſelves were founded on a ſuppoſition of events ſo deſperate and improbable, as would not only, were they to take effect, produce imminent danger to the ports in queſtion, but even to every part of

the iſland. Under the circumſtances of the data it was neceſſary to ſuppoſe—"the abſence of the "whole Britiſh fleet for the ſpace of three months, "while an army of thirty or forty thouſand men "was ready on the enemy's coaſt to invade the "country, and to chooſe their point of landing, "&c. while no force could be collected in Great "Britain, in leſs than two months, to oppoſe "them."

The ſingular fate which attended the Duke of Richmond's propoſal, is ſtill recent in the memory of moſt readers, and will not eaſily be forgotten. On the houſe dividing, the numbers appeared exactly equal, being on each ſide one hundred and ſixty-nine; and the caſting vote of the Speaker decided the queſtion againſt the miniſter.

In the mutiny-bill of this year, an alteration in one of the clauſes was introduced, which ſubjected officers by brevet, although out of the ſervice, to the regulations of the act. In defence of the altered clauſe, ſome inſtances were adduced of officers by brevet, who had eſcaped the juriſdiction of court-martials, for want of ſuch a proviſion in the mutiny act. On the contrary, ſome ſtrong conſtitutional objections were urged by the Oppoſition members. It was obſerved, "that the "whole ſyſtem of military law, as it infringed "upon the natural and conſtitutional rights of "the ſubject, was only defenſible on the ſtrict "ground of neceſſity; and ought, therefore, in "times of peace eſpecially, to be narrowed, if poſ-"ſible, inſtead of being extended; and that the ge-"neral principle, as recognized both in the theory "and practice of our conſtitution was, that mili-"tary law ſhould be confined to actual military

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"ſervice alone." The peculiar hardſhip and injuſtice of ſubjecting men in civil life, who derived no emolument from the rank they held in the army, to be tried by court-martials, not only for offences at this time known and defined in the articles of war to be military offences, but for offences unknown, which his majeſty had the power hereafter to create, was placed in a ſtriking point of view. Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, the miniſtry perſiſted in the neceſſity of the clauſe, and the bill paſſed in this form through both houſes.

A more popular, and (though not unexceptionable in all its parts) a more laudable meaſure was, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer; and this was a ſcheme for the gradual diminution of the national debt. The plan was founded on a report framed by a ſelect committee, appointed early in the ſeſſion, for the purpoſe of examining the annual amount of the income and expenditure; and its general outline was as follows: By the report of the committee it appeared, that the annual income for the year 1785, had been fifteen millions three hundred and ſeventy-nine thouſand one hundred and eighty-two pounds; and the annual expenditure, fourteen millions four hundred and ſeventy-eight thouſand one hundred and eighty-one pounds—leaving a ſurplus of nine hundred and one thouſand and one pounds; and that, in the year 1786, the income had been fifteen millions three hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-one pounds, and the expenditure the ſame as in the ſucceeding year—leaving a ſurplus of nine hundred and nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety pounds. On the baſis of this ſurplus, Mr. Pitt reſted the whole fabric of his new ſyſtem. He propoſed to

appropriate one million annually as a ſinking fund, to be applied to no other purpoſe whatever, in any circumſtances of the ſtate, but to the gradual extinction of the national debt. This ſum was to be veſted in the hands of certain truſtees, viz. the chancellor of the exchequer, the maſter of the rolls, the governor and deputy governor of the Bank, and the accomptant-general, to be by them applied quarterly to the purchaſe of ſtock at the current price of the market. To complete the annual ſum of one million, he added one penny per gallon to the tax on Britiſh ſpirits; he propoſed alſo a tax on the importation of timber, and on perfumery.

In the courſe of twenty-eight years, he ſtated, that the annual million, properly improved, would produce an annual income of four millions per annum; and the operation of the plan, he ſaid, would diminiſh the national debt ſo effectually, as to prevent the exigencies of war ever raiſing it ſo enormouſly as they had previouſly done. Mr. Pitt regretted, that there were ſome circumſtances which muſt a little poſtpone the full effect of the arrangement he now propoſed; but though the expenditure, as ſtated in the report, was the real amount of what was to conſtitute the peace eſtabliſhment, yet the actual expenditure at preſent was conſiderably more. From the nature of that improvident and diſaſtrous war in which we had been ſo lately engaged, the expences of the navy, army, half-pay, and penſion-liſt, would create an arrear, which, for the period of four years, he calculated would amount to about three millions. This ſum he propoſed defraying by the ſurplus of certain funds, by the arrears ſtill due from the paymaſters, by army ſavings, by a lottery, and by

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the debt due from the East-India Company, which he estimated at six hundred thousand pounds. Mr. Pitt then proceeded to state the supplies, with the ways and means for the present year. The supplies, including two hundred and ten thousand pounds, granted in aid of the civil list, amounted to twelve millions four hundred and seventy-seven thousand and eighty-six pounds; the ways and means, including five millions by exchequer bills, to be issued for the purpose of paying off certain other exchequer bills, amounted to thirteen millions, three hundred and sixty-two thousand four hundred and eighty pounds: there would therefore be a surplus of eight hundred and eighty-five thousand three hundred and ninety-four pounds, which would enable him to put his plan into immediate execution, by issuing two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for each of the three succeeding quarters, which, at the end of the year, would still leave a balance for the beginning of the next, of one hundred and thirty-five thousand three hundred and ninety-four pounds.

Various objections were urged against the plan of the minister; some went to the invalidating of the report, which it was asserted was founded on false calculations, and on a mis-statement of the finances of the country. To this effect Mr. Sheridan proposed a series of resolutions, the object of which was to prove, that the public receipts could not possibly amount to what was stated in the report, and consequently that the whole scheme was founded on the supposition of a surplus which was merely ideal.

It must be confessed, however, that the most solid objections were those which were alledged against the proposed method of applying the surplus; and

againſt that part of the plan which rendered the annual million *unalienable* in any circumſtances whatever, and which appropriated it to the purchaſe of ſtock, whatever mode might be propoſed for a more profitable application. It was proved, that in certain circumſtances, particularly in caſe of war, the government, while it borrowed money upon loans, might actually pay a higher intereſt than it received; and that even in the preſent inſtance, by the iſſuing of exchequer bills, it would be ſubject to a loſs which could not be compenſated by purchaſes in the funds; that it would buy ſtock dear, to ſell it cheap; and would be engaged to pay to the holders of theſe bills a higher intereſt and profit, than was ſecured in return upon the money which it laid out. The plan of paying off a debt in this manner, by borrowing again, was ridiculed as little better than a piece of political empiriciſm, and a ſpecies of financial legerdemain. To obviate in ſome meaſure theſe inconveniencies, a clauſe was propoſed by Mr. Fox, and received with great approbation by the chancellor of the exchequer, to entitle the commiſſioners, in caſe of any future loan, to receive a part of it, to the amount of the annual million, and to apply the bonus or douceur to the benefit of the public.

As the improvement of the revenue was at this time a very favourite object with Mr. Pitt, and as in the article of wines great abuſes were ſuppoſed to exiſt, in conſequence of adulteration, in the cellars of the merchants, and by the retail dealers; a bill was paſſed in the courſe of the ſeſſion for transferring a part of the duties from the cuſtoms to the exciſe. Though the plan preſcribed by this act may poſſibly be attended with ſome

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trouble to the merchant, and ſome inconvenience to the conſumer, it is but fair to add, that it appears to have anſwered every expected purpoſe with reſpect to revenue, while the fair trader does not appear to have ſuſtained any material injury from it.

To relate minutely all the inferior tranſactions of parliament, would be more adapted to the purpoſe of a chronicle or regiſter, than of a hiſtory; but the impeachment of Mr. Haſtings is a ſubject of too much magnitude, and has excited too much of the public attention, to be omitted. The proſecutions which had been hitherto commenced againſt India delinquents, particularly againſt Lord Clive and Sir Thomas Rumbold, had been fruſtrated in an unaccountable and myſterious manner; and it was generally imagined, that no man who returned from that inexauſtible ſource of opulence, would ever be reduced to the neceſſity of appearing at the bar of a court of juſtice. The characters too both of the perſon accuſed and of the principal of his accuſers, appeared equally to preclude the probability of a proſecution. To the moſt brilliant accompliſhments of the ſcholar and the man of letters, Mr. Haſtings united the ſolid judgment of the legiſlator, the ſagacity of the politician, the activity of the warrior, and the adroitneſs of the negociator. He ſtood almoſt alone in the career of ſucceſs, while diſaſters and calamities attended the generals and commanders of the Britiſh nation in every quarter of the globe; and while thirteen extenſive and opulent colonies were ſevered from the empire, India, the moſt precarious of all our poſſeſſions, was ſaved by the abilities and exertions of the governor general. The active department in this proſecution was aſſumed

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by Mr. Burke, a man of infinite genius, but of a genius diametrically oppoſite to that of Mr. Haſtings; a genius, calculated not to defend an empire, but to embroil and diſunite it; a genius more converſant with words than with things; under the guidance of a fervid imagination, without a particle of judgment; and whoſe political inconſiſtencies had even deprived him of the attention of parliament upon the moſt common, as well as the moſt important queſtions. At different periods of his life, Mr. Burke has exhibited himſelf in the moſt contraſted characters; the reviler and the worſhipper of kings; the champion and the opponent of democracy; the proſecutor and the advocate of corruption; the detractor and the boſom connexion of Lord North; the friend of humanity, and the promoter of war; the patron of Powell and Bembridge, the proſecutor of Mr. Haſtings. Notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances in his favour, however, there were ſome, at leaſt, equally adverſe to the governor general. The brilliant talents of Mr. Burke were aſſiſted by the unwearied induſtry of ſome of his connexions, and their local knowledge of India affairs. Mr. Burke was alſo ſupported by a party, which, though not in adminiſtration, was yet formidable for their numbers and their rank, and ſtill more for their tranſcendent abilities. Beſides this, there is a natural malignancy in human nature, which produces a ſecret joy, on the ſight of greatneſs reduced to a ſtate of degradation; and, without anticipating the judgement of the high tribunal, before which he ſtands accuſed, the known delinquency of other men, who had occupied conſiderable ſtations in India, produced an almoſt general prejudice againſt him; and an impeachment is in itſelf a popular

popular meaſure, and at leaſt intereſts the paſſions and the curioſity of the multitude. But theſe were not, after all, the circumſtances which operated moſt fatally againſt Mr. Haſtings; his overthrow was effected by cauſes which have eſcaped general obſervation; and one of the firſt of theſe was his too great confidence in his ability at leaſt, perhaps in his innocence and merits: —he was too forward to challenge inquiry; he was too haſty in replying to his adverſaries, and too unguarded in his mode of defence. Another cauſe, not leſs fatal, was, perhaps, an unfortunate ſelection in his confidents, agents, and adviſers. To theſe may be added a query:—Did not Mr. Haſtings depend too much on the flattering profeſſions of courtiers?—And was he not betrayed by ſome, on whom he had placed the firmeſt reliance? Theſe obſervations do not at all apply to the validity of the charges againſt him. Whether innocent or guilty, is not the queſtion here: we are only inquiring into the cauſes that produced, or at leaſt precipitated, the impeachment.

Various reaſons have been aſſigned for the ardour and perſeverance of Mr. Burke in this meaſure, moſt of which are probably to be conſidered merely as the dictates of party virulence and miſrepreſentation. Some have aſſerted, that the right hon. gentleman was influenced, in part, by a noble emulation of his friend and coadjutor, on a former occaſion (Mr. Dundas); and that the *glory* which was achieved by that gentleman, in the memorable proſecution of Sir Thomas Rumbold, afforded no inconſiderable motive to his exertions. Some have attributed them to a perſonal pique, originating from the neglect or ill-treatment experienced from the governor general

neral by a near relation; and not a few have aſcribed them to the ſuggeſtions of vanity, and aſſerted, that, as Mr. Burke had long fancied himſelf another Cicero, it became abſolutely neceſſary to find a Verres, to crown and complete his triumph in the fields of oratory.

While we treat theſe ſuggeſtions with deſerved contempt, and have only inſerted them as a debt due to the impartial character which it ſhould ever be the praiſe of the hiſtorian to preſerve; and while it is impoſſible to form a true judgement of the internal motives of men, or to penetrate their thoughts, it is our duty to content ourſelves with thoſe which the right hon. gentleman has himſelf aſſigned, and to ſuppoſe him actuated only by a diſintereſted zeal for the rights of men, a ſympathetic feeling for thoſe whom he at leaſt believes to have been injured and oppreſſed, and a deſire to extend the empire of liberty and juſtice over the whole face of the globe.

Mr. Haſtings arrived in England in June, 1785; and as Mr. Burke had long threatened an impeachment, the parliament had ſcarcely aſſembled in the ſucceeding ſeſſion, before Major Scott, the confidential friend of Mr. Haſtings, with more zeal, perhaps, than prudence, embraced the opportunity to remind him of his promiſe. Mr. Burke returned an evaſive anſwer, and in the mean time was aſſiduouſly employed in preparing the articles of charge. On the 17th of February, in a laboured, and, on the whole, an eloquent ſpeech, though replete with egotiſm, Mr. Burke opened the accuſation againſt Mr. Haſtings, grounding this firſt procedure on a reſolution of cenſure which had been moved in the year 1782, againſt that gentleman, by Mr. Dundas, and concluded

cluded with moving for certain papers, which, he ſaid, were eſſential to the eſtabliſhment of his charge.

On this occaſion Mr. Haſtings was warmly defended by Mr. Dundas, who confeſſed that he was, indeed, the perſon who ſuggeſted the reſolutions alluded to; but denied that theſe reſolutions extended ſo far as to ſuppoſe Mr. Haſtings a fit object for a criminal proſecution. The reſolutions went to the recall of Mr. Haſtings, a matter which he conceived, at that time, expedient; but he thought the conduct of Mr. Haſtings, ſince that period, not only not criminal, but highly meritorious.

The papers which Mr. Burke required were, in general, granted; but, on the 3d of March, he experienced a repulſe which did not appear perfectly to accord with his feelings. On that day he moved for copies of letters, and other papers, relative to the late treaty with the Mahrattas. The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, on two reaſons; firſt, that the treaty in queſtion was a wiſe and ſalutary treaty, and had ſaved the Britiſh empire in Aſia; and ſecondly, that it would be imprudent to expoſe to the native powers the means employed for effecting it: the motion was therefore rejected.

It was the 4th of April before Mr. Burke was completely equipped for entering upon action. On that day he ſolemnly roſe to charge Warren Haſtings, eſq. late governor-general of Bengal, with ſundry high crimes and miſdemeanours, and delivered at the table the nine firſt articles of charge, and the remainder in the courſe of the ſucceeding week, amounting, in the whole, to twenty-two in number.

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The firſt of theſe charges related to the war that had been carried on againſt the Rohillas; the ſecond, to the provinces of Cora and Allahabad, which had been conferred on the Mogul, by Lord Clive, and the revenues of which had been detained, when that prince withdrew to his capital of Dehli, and put himſelf under the protection of the Mahrattas. The third treated of the extraordinary aid which had been demanded, on account of the war, from the Rajah of Benares; the fine which had been impoſed upon him for refractory conduct, and his conſequent expulſion from his dominions. The fourth related to the confinement of the princeſſes of Oude, the impriſoning and fettering of their ſervants, with a view to extort money; the diſtreſſes which were experienced by their families, and their compulſory reſignation of their jaghires or appanages. The fifth regarded the treatment of the Rajah of Farruckabad; the ſixth, of the Rajah of Sahlone. The ſeventh, the tenth, the eleventh, and the twelfth, treated of certain extravagant contracts into which Mr. Haſtings had entered on the part of the Company; and the enormous ſalaries which he had beſtowed upon Sir Eyre Coote, and upon certain boards of his own inſtitution. The eighth treated of money privately received, and of illegal preſents. The ninth regarded the authority which Mr. Haſtings had given to certain perſons in England, to reſign the government in his name; and the refuſal he had given in India, to ſubmit to the conſequent appointment of his ſucceſſor. The thirteenth reſpected certain ambaſſadors to the Nabob of Arcot, and the Suba of the Decan. The fourteenth related to the deſertion of the Rana of Gohud, in the concluſion of the Mahratta peace; the

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fifteenth, to the uneconomical and arbitrary management of the revenues of Bengal. The sixteenth charged upon Mr. Hastings the declension and ruin of the province of Oude. The seventeenth regarded a certain native, called Mahomed Beza Khan, who had for a long time been entrusted with the internal management of Bengal, and was displaced by Mr. Hastings. The eighteenth accused Mr. Hastings of having, at a recent period, delivered up the Mogul into the hands of the Mahrattas. The nineteenth charged him with libelling the Court of Directors. The twentieth related to the guilt of occasioning the Mahratta war, and the ill faith that had attended the conclusion of the Mahratta peace. The twenty-first regarded the suppression of correspondence: and the twenty-second related to the treatment of Fizulla Khan.

In this stage of the prosecution Mr. Hastings thought it proper to petition the house to beg to be heard in his defence, and to request a copy of the charges. The former of these requests was readily conceded by the prosecutors; but Mr. Burke objected to granting a copy of the charges. In the course of the debate, Mr. Martin renewed his recommendation to Mr. Burke to proceed in the impeachment of another great state delinquent, Lord North. Mr. Burke, on this occasion, confessed, that he had once drawn up seven distinct articles of impeachment against that nobleman, but that the Marquis of Rockingham had advised him to abandon the idea, upon what principle Mr. Burke did not explain. Notwithstanding the opposition of the principal in the prosecution, the house indulged Mr. Hastings in both the objects of his petition; but there is reason to believe, that

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he has himſelf repented of the meaſures which he purſued on this occaſion. The time allowed for preparing his anſwers to the charges (about five days), being extremely ſhort, he was under a neceſſity, it is ſaid, of employing the agency of ſeveral of his friends; and the haſte and inaccuracy with which ſome of the anſwers were drawn up, afforded, afterwards, no inconſiderable advantage to his adverſaries. On the 1ſt of May, Mr. Haſtings was called to the bar, and read a written defence, in which he was aſſiſted by Mr. Markham, and the clerks of the houſe. The defence, which occupied three days in reading, was afterwards printed for the uſe of the members.

The remainder of the month of May, was ſpent chiefly in the examination of witneſſes; and on the firſt of June, Mr. Burke brought forward the charge relating to the Rohilla war, and moved a reſolution upon it, importing "that there were "grounds ſufficient to charge Warren Haſtings "with high crimes and miſdemeanours upon the "matter of the ſaid article." After a long diſcuſſion, and an adjourned debate, the reſolution was rejected by a majority of fifty-two.

Thus far every circumſtance appeared to favour Mr. Haſtings; and as ſeveral of the members in adminiſtration had taken even an active part in his defence, the moſt ſpeedy and fortunate termination was confidently expected by his friends. Reports were circulated, that ſome of the higheſt authorities in the nation were not only ſatisfied of his innocence, but even impreſſed with a ſtrong opinion of his merits; and that his long and eminent ſervices were to be rewarded ſpeedily with a ſplendid ſituation; and that he was even to be appointed to the preſidency of the board of controul.

troul. On the other hand, various hopes were entertained by thoſe who were favourable to the proſecution. Independent of that ſtrict regard to the cauſe of juſtice and of truth, by which the whole adminiſtration, and particularly Mr. Dundas, have always been diſtinguiſhed, is it probable, it was ſaid, that a miniſter of Mr. Pitt's ſagacity ſhould exert himſelf merely to prevent the oppoſition from entangling themſelves in a buſineſs, which, right or wrong, muſt neceſſarily engage a large portion of their attention? Should they ſucceed in the object of the impeachment, a courſe of years muſt elapſe before its termination; and the public attention will be exhauſted, long before they can reap thoſe applauſes which their labours and abilities would merit. Should they, on the contrary, be found to have inſtituted a groundleſs proſecution, for the oppreſſion of an innocent man, the execrations of the public muſt every where attend them, and the blow will be far more fatal to their reputation, than that which they ſo have lately experienced, in conſequence of their unfortunate coalition. Human virtue, it was alledged, muſt ever be mixed with ſome alloy; and benevolent and diſintereſted as Mr. Dundas muſt be confeſſed to be, if there is any ground of truth in the report concerning the intended exaltation of Mr. Haſtings, can he with total indifference behold the elevation of a ſtranger, unconnected with him either by country or by blood, to that ſituation to which his own merits have raiſed him; and can he bear, without a ſingle ſenſation of reſentment, to be precipitated from office, to make room for a rival? Such were the ſentiments profeſſed by ſome of the more ſanguine of thoſe who wiſhed to forward the

proſecution of the ex-governor. The ſequel proved, that, however they might be miſtaken in theſe latter ſentiments, they were not deceived in their opinions of the ſtrict attention to impartial juſtice which was ſhortly to be manifeſted by Meſſrs. Pitt and Dundas.

It has been ſaid that ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of oppoſition were averſe to engaging in the impeachment; but the impetuoſity of Mr. Burke overcame every difficulty, and plunged the whole party irrecoverably in this complicated undertaking, which has certainly, in no view whatever, contributed to their intereſts, and to many of them muſt have been attended with embarraſſment and vexation.

The next charge which was brought under the conſideration of the houſe, was that relative to the expulſion of Cheit Sing from the Zemindary of Benares; and Mr. Fox moved on this article a reſolution ſimilar to that moved by Mr. Burke, on the Rohilla war. As the principal circumſtances relative to this tranſaction have been already related at ſome length, it will be only neceſſary to add, that the principal force of the charge reſted on the terms employed in the reſolutions of the ſupreme council, and in the treaty confirming him in the poſſeſſion of the Zemindary, where it was expreſſed, "That the perpetual and independent "poſſeſſion of the Zemindary of Benares and its "dependencies, be confirmed and guarantied to the "Rajah Cheit Sing, and his heirs for ever, ſub-"ject *only* to the annual payment of the revenue "hitherto paid to the late Viſir, &c." whence it was contended, that the Rajah was an independent prince, and that the compact with him was poſitive,

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and depended merely on his punctually paying the ſtipulated tribute. On the other ſide it was aſſerted, that the payment of tribute neceſſarily conſtituted him the feudal vaſſal of the company; and that, agreeably to the nature of the feudal ſyſtem, and more particularly in India, the vaſſal, in caſes of extraordinary danger to the empire at large, was ſubject to extraordinary aids and contributions. To their utter aſtoniſhment, the friends of Mr. Haſtings ſaw the Chancellor of the Exchequer unite in the vote againſt him; but upon new grounds, and, we think, leſs liberal and defenſible, than thoſe which were occupied by the proſecutors. He admitted the right of demanding extraordinary aids; but conceived that the demands made upon the Rajah by Mr. Haſtings, exceeded the neceſſity of the ſervice. The reſolution was carried in the affirmative by a majority of forty.

During the courſe of the proceedings in the houſe of commons, on the impeachment, a new bill was introduced for the enlargement of the powers of the governor-general in India; and this buſineſs was no ſooner concluded, than his Majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion on the 11th of July.

On the 2d of Auguſt, as the King was alighting from his carriage at St. James's, a woman who ſtood in the court-yard, ſtruck at his Majeſty with a knife, but without any effect. On examination, the knife was found to be too ſlender to penetrate; and the woman, whoſe name was Margaret Nicholſon, on a full examination before the privy-council, appeared to be totally inſane, and was therefore committed to Bethlehem Hoſpital. Innumerable addreſſes were preſented on this occaſion, and a multitude of the members of the different corporations who voted them, were knighted by his Majeſty.

In the month of September, a commercial treaty was concluded between his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the King of Great Britain, of a nature ſo exceedingly advantageous to the latter, that it is impoſſible to ſpeak more highly of the conduct of miniſtry, in this inſtance, than it deſerves. The main objects of the treaty were to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe, by removing every ground of jealouſy between the two nations; and to promote an amicable and beneficial intercourſe between the inhabitants of both countries. Happy for mankind if the compacts uſually concluded between monarchs, were founded on ſo unexceptionable a baſis! but, alas! they are too commonly little more than confederacies of rapine, or incentives to murder and devaſtation. If we compare the commercial treaty with France, with almoſt every treaty of alliance in which Great Britain had been previouſly engaged; if we conſider that the object of the majority of theſe has been the profuſe and culpable expenditure of the treaſures of this country, for the purſuit of ſome viſionary and fantaſtical ſcheme of abſurd ambition; if we recollect the millions which have been laviſhed in ſubſidies for the maintenance of a barrier for the Dutch, for the purpoſe of ſubjugating Spain to the houſe of Auſtria, for the protection of ſome ſpot of territory on the continent, the immerſion of which in the ocean could not affect the proſperity of England; to preſerve an imaginary or real balance, or to overſet it, according to the caprice of ſtateſmen or politicians; if we conſider the culpable and antichriſtian tendency of moſt of ſuch treaties, that they are to inſtitute a criminal barter of blood for gold; and to engage the petty and impoveriſhed deſpots of the continent

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in the miſerable traffic of their wretched ſubjects, who are ſold like herds of cattle for a ſum of money, to ſupply the luxury and extravagance of their maſters; if we reflect with ſerioufneſs and candour on theſe melancholy tranſactions, in how ſuperior a light muſt we view the negociation which is calculated to enlarge the happineſs, to ſoften the manners, to conciliate the paſſions, and to ſtimulate the induſtry of mankind! We had indulged the pleaſing hope, that the ſalutary example would have had the moſt beneficial effects; that the nations of Europe, profiting by the inſtance of wiſdom, which on this occaſion was manifeſted by the Britiſh miniſters, would have changed the object of their negociations; that they would, in the energetic language of RELIGION, have "beaten their ſpears into ploughſhares, their "ſwords into pruning-hooks;" that the peſt of war, and the curſe of ambition, would have been heard of no more among the civilized nations of Europe. But!——

By this treaty, the hardware and cabinet manufactures of England gained free admiſſion into France, on paying the eaſy duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*, which was afterwards, with reſpect to many articles, reduced to five per cent; the cotton manufactures, woollen, hoſiery, millinery, and (what was of conſiderable importance) the porcelain and earthen ware of Great Britain, were admitted at the reduced duty of twelve per cent. *ad valorem*; ſadlery, at fifteen per cent.; and the linens and cambricks were reciprocally admitted into both countries at equal duties.

In return for theſe conceſſions, the duties on French wines imported into Great Britain, were to be lowered to the ſtandard of thoſe of Portugal,

the duties on brandies were reduced two ſhillings per gallon, and olive oil was admitted on the ſame terms as from the moſt favoured nations.

It was a remarkable circumſtance attending this treaty, that though in all preceding treaties, whether of peace or commerce, the French negociators had uſually obtained an obvious advantage over thoſe of Great Britain; in the preſent inſtance it was univerſally allowed, that the balance of commercial advantages was infinitely in our favour; and indeed almoſt the whole wealth and commerce of France was, by this meaſure, eventually centred in the Britiſh manufacturers.

In the courſe of the ſummer a convention was alſo concluded between Great Britain and Spain, relative to the aſcertaining of the frontiers of their reſpective poſſeſſions in America, and the privileges of the logwood cutters and other ſettlers.

The affairs of the United Provinces ſtill remained in a ſtate of confuſion. The city of Utrecht was particularly diſtinguiſhed by its violence againſt the Statholder and his government; but in Holland the parties were ſo equally balanced, that a motion for reſtoring him to the government of the Hague was negatived by a ſingle vote. In the mean time that prince eſtabliſhed his reſidence in Guelderland, where the ſtates were more favourably diſpoſed to his intereſts than in any other part. As however the towns of Hattem and Elbourg had manifeſted a peculiarly refractory and rebellious diſpoſition, the ſtates of Guelders commiſſioned the Statholder to employ the military force for the reduction of the rebellious burghers. The armed citizens of Hattem had been reinforced by a large party of volunteers, and an appearance of vigorous

vigorous and effective oppoſition was at firſt exhibited; but not even the torch of liberty could light up the flame of courage in the breaſts of men nurtured in luxury and the purſuit of gain. On the approach of General Spengler, with a very ſmall force, and on his pointing his artillery at the tops only of the houſes, the town was precipitately abandoned by the armed burghers, and Spengler's ſoldiers entered at one gate, while they ſhamefully retreated through the other. Elbourg was reduced in the ſame manner, and with even leſs trouble.

The affair of Hattem ſeemed, however, to be the ſignal in Holland for proceeding to extremities, and for the commencement of a civil war. The ſtates of that province ſuſpended the Statholder from all his functions, and the inland frontier towards Utrecht and Guelderland was put in a poſture of defence.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting in the other quarters of Europe, the Emperor continued to purſue, with unremitting vigour, his plans of eccleſiaſtical reform. An opportunity was ſoon afforded of proving the ſentiments of the Germans with reſpect to the papal authority. The Elector Palatine ſolicited from the Holy See a nuncio, to become reſident at the court of Munich; but the eccleſiaſtical Electors of Mentz and Saltzburg, conſidering the innovation as an interference pernicious to their rights and intereſts, immediately ſolicited the official protection and interpoſition of the Emperor in their favour. The Emperor, who might probably, in ſome meaſure, have been privy to the application, eagerly embraced the occaſion to ſet forth a prolix memorial, proteſting againſt foreign interference in the eccleſiaſtical affairs of Germany; and in a conference held not long after

by the epiſcopal princes of the empire at Ratiſbon, theſe ſentiments were ſolemnly confirmed. They agreed to withdraw themſelves entirely from the juriſdiction of the pope in their eccleſiaſtical government, and to acknowledge no ſuperior but the Emperor.

Among the events of this year, the deceaſe of Frederick III. king of Pruſſia, is not the leaſt remarkable. This extraordinary perſonage terminated a life of ſeventy-five years, and a reign of forty-ſix, at Berlin, on the 17th of Auguſt, in a manner too peaceful for a tyrant; leaving a full treaſury and an enſlaved nation at the diſpoſal of his ſucceſſor.

The lights of philoſophy, united with thoſe of Chriſtianity, have, happily, diſpelled thoſe magic circles with which the name of hero had been enveloped, and have enabled us to view in their proper colours, thoſe enemies and deſtroyers of human nature. The murderer of nations is not as yet degraded, it is true, to his proper level, nor reduced to rank with the private aſſaſſin; but the literary and well-informed part of mankind, at leaſt, are no longer deluded by that falſe brilliancy, which dazzled and deluded the ancient world.

If the character of Frederick is contemplated, thus diveſted of prejudice and deluſion, there will ſcarcely be found, either in ancient or in modern hiſtory, one more completely deſtitute of virtue and humanity. He regarded the lives of mankind as of no value, and would ſacrifice thouſands at any time, to achieve a trifling advantage, or commit the moſt ſavage outrage to maintain a punctilio of diſcipline or military etiquette.

The whole of his reign was leſs a ſeries of flagitious tranſactions, than one continued act of injuſtice,

injuſtice. His promiſe, and even his moſt ſolemn oaths, were not, in any inſtance, to be relied on. His wanton aſſault on the territory of Liege, his tyranny in Bohemia, his ſeizure of Sileſia, and his cruel and unprecedented violation of all principle in Saxony, include a variety of felonious and murderous tranſactions, which, if committed on a ſmaller ſcale, would have been puniſhed with the gibbet, or the rack, in any country in Europe.

His rapacity and cruelty, with reſpect to foreign nations, was only exceeded by that diabolical tyranny which he eſtabliſhed at home:—a tyranny ſo deteſtable, that Voltaire, who was no friend to virtue and liberty, has remarked, "That Turkey "itſelf is a republic, when compared with Pruſſia." That his malignant paſſions were never to be ſatisfied, the affecting narrative of Baron Trenk remains a laſting proof. His reſentment never ſubſided; and he was never known to feel the emotion of pity.

Even the abilities of Frederick will appear, on inveſtigation, in a leſs reſpectable light than when contemplated at a diſtance. As a general, his principal excellencies were diligence and activity; and if he ſometimes gained unexpected advantages, let it be remembered, that he never heſitated to ſacrifice the lives of his ſoldiers, and that his conduct was regulated or reſtrained by no principle of religion or morals. As a writer, he poſſeſſed every advantage from the aſſiſtance and converſation of the learned and ingenious; and yet he was enabled, after all, to make but an indifferent appearance in the fields of literature. His memoirs of Brandenburgh, where he was probably leaſt aſſiſted, are contemptible. He was, indeed, unable to read the Latin claſſics in their native language,

language, and was only acquainted with them through the medium of a French tranſlation. Like the Roman Nero, whom in more inſtances than one he reſembled, he cultivated muſic; but there was more of correctneſs than of taſte in his performances.

In the early part of his life, all the virtues and enjoyments of his life he ſacrificed to fame; and yet he will be remembered, only to be execrated by all whoſe admiration is praiſe:—his latter years were devoted to parſimony and acquiſition, and yet he died without iſſue. He was ſucceeded by a weak prince, who, if fame truly reports, has already ſquandered the wealth of Frederick; and who may poſſibly, before the concluſion of his reign, make a ſimilar diſpoſition of his territorial poſſeſſions.

After this ſevere cenſure, which, we doubt not, will be ſanctioned by the verdict of poſterity, candour obliges us to remark, that Frederick would probably have been a better man, and a better king, if he had been a Chriſtian; for he who poſſeſſes deſpotic authority, without the reſtraints of religion, ſees no boundaries to the indulgence of his paſſions; and it muſt be a miracle if he is not transformed from a man to a demon.

1787 The Britiſh parliament aſſembled in 1787, on the 23d of January; and the firſt object of debate which preſented itſelf, was the commercial treaty with France. The objections advanced againſt it by the minority, were neither liberal nor well founded; and Mr. Burke was particularly diſtinguiſhed by his violence, illiberality, and irrational abuſe. He obſerved that the treaty in queſtion was not to be regarded ſimply in a commercial view, but as cloſely connected with the

the political intereſts of the country. Mr. Pitt, he added, with that narrowneſs which leads men of limited minds to look at great objects in a confined point of view, ſpoke of the tranſaction as if it was the affair of two little compting-houſes, and not of two great nations. He ſeemed to conſider it as a contention between the ſign of the Fleur-de-lis, and the ſign of the Red Lion—which houſe ſhould obtain the beſt cuſtom. Such men, when in power, converted large cities into ſmall villages, while thoſe of a more noble and liberal mode of thinking acted on a better ſcale, and converted ſmall villages into large cities.

This deſultory harangue was anſwered by a ſevere rebuke from Mr. Wilberforce. He ſaid he had heard Mr. Burke in his better days; but lamented that his faculties were now diverted from the proſecution of thoſe great objects, which they were naturally formed to embrace. Mr. Pitt ſaid, that to contend in abuſe and perſonality with ſuch an opponent as Mr. Burke, was far beyond his powers, and much more beyond his wiſhes. When he met with ſuch a man, whoſe conduct had produced an unfortunate change in his character, and whoſe ill temper and ſpleen were proportioned to the diſappointments he experienced, and the odium which ſurrounded him; however ſuch a man might be inclined by abuſe and malevolence to reduce other characters to a level with his own, though his ſituation might have a claim upon his compaſſion, that ſentiment muſt naturally be blended with a degree of diſguſt.

The main objection of the oppoſition, however, reſted on the probability of the new treaty interfering with the Portugal trade; an objection which Mr.

Pitt promiſed to obviate by a new treaty with the latter power. The general tendency of the treaty was alſo ably defended by the miniſter. He expoſed in ſtrong and happy terms the falſe and pernicious notion of any one nation being the natural enemy of another. It had no foundation, he ſaid, in experience; it was a libel on the conſtitution of political ſocieties; and ſuppoſed the exiſtence of a diabolical malice in our original frame.

He was not leſs happy in diſplaying the advantageous nature of the new treaty in a commercial view. The treaty, he allowed, would be a benefit to the French commerce; but he did not heſitate to deliver his firm opinion, in the eyes of France, and during the pendency of the buſineſs, that it would be more ſo to us. She gained for her wines and natural productions a great and opulent market; we did the ſame to a much greater degree. She procured a market of eight millions of people; we, a market of twenty-four millions. France gained this market for her produce, which employed few hands in the preparation, gave little encouragement to her navigation, and afforded little to the ſtate: we gained a market for our *manufactures*, which employed thouſands of our countrymen, which, in collecting materials from every quarter of our foreign poſſeſſions, advanced our maritime ſtrength, and contributed largely to the ſtate. France could not gain the acceſſion of one hundred thouſand pounds to her revenue; England muſt neceſſarily gain a MILLION.

It would be to indulge in a fruitleſs prolixity to enter more minutely on the debates which took place on this occaſion. Let it ſuffice to add, that

that in the courſe of them, a ſeries of reſolutions were moved by the miniſter for adapting the exiſting laws to the principles of the treaty, and that they were adopted in both houſes by very large majorities. Such were, indeed, the advantages reſulting from the compact, that we ſhould be truly happy, if the circumſtances of the times in which we write, would have permitted us to conclude in the words of the eloquent Venetian hiſtorian—"*Eſto perpetuo.*"

Another meaſure of this ſeſſion conferred not leſs popularity on Mr. Pitt than the preceding. From the firſt eſtabliſhment of that branch of the revenue, which is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the cuſtoms, to the preſent time, a variety of modifications had been adopted by ſtatute, in the modes of calculating them, and ſeveral impoſts had been laid upon the ſame article by different parliaments, without adverting to the manner in which their predeceſſors had directed the tax to be levied. To the commercial part of the nation, this mode of raiſing a revenue was replete with inconveniencies, and created much perplexity and frequent miſtakes: to remedy this evil, Mr. Pitt propoſed to *conſolidate the cuſtoms*, by aboliſhing all the duties that ſubſiſted in this confuſed and complex manner, and by ſubſtituting in their ſtead, one ſingle duty on each article, amounting, as nearly as poſſible, to the various ſubſidies which had been previouſly paid; only, where a fraction was found in any of the ſums, changing the fraction for the neareſt integral number, uſually preferring the higher to the lower. This advance, he obſerved, would produce an increaſe in the revenue, to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds per annum, while the difference would be amply compenſated

compenſated to the merchant, by the eaſe and convenience with which he would be enabled to tranſact his buſineſs at the cuſtom-houſe. Mr. Pitt, at the ſame time, propoſed to lower the duties on foreign ſpirits, with a view of completely annihilating the ſmuggling trade, which he ſaid amounted to four millions of gallons yearly, while that which was legally imported, and paid the duty, did not exceed ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand. This reſolution was the only one relative to the conſolidation of the cuſtoms, which produced any debate in the committee appointed for the conſideration of the ſubject; and this was principally oppoſed, on the ground that it might promote the conſumption of theſe pernicious articles among the lower orders of ſociety.

The inefficiency too of that abſurd and injudicious meaſure, the commutation-tax, was pointedly animadverted on; and it was evinced, that its effect in preventing ſmuggling was but very trifling, ſince it was neceſſary to follow it immediately, by the hazardous experiment of reducing the duty upon foreign brandies to five ſhillings per gallon, which was two ſhillings lower than was ſtipulated for by France in the commercial treaty.

The whole of the plan, however, obtained the ſanction of a very large majority of both houſes; and experience, as well as theory, has ſince evinced that, taken as a whole, it was not injudicious.

Another meaſure of finance was leſs triumphantly carried by the miniſter, and this was the farming of the duty upon poſt-horſes. The reaſon alledged by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for this propoſal, was, the frauds which he aſſerted had been committed in the collection of this duty, and the neceſſity of preventing a colluſion between the innkeepers and the collectors. The propoſed mode

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was oppoſed on the ground, that it was immediately contradictory to the principles of the conſtitution; that it was the mode adopted by the odious and deſpotic government of France, where the farmers general acquired immenſe fortunes, by the moſt ſhameful and flagitious oppreſſion exerciſed over the people; and, in fine, it was urged, that the abuſes complained of by the miniſter did not exiſt. The bill was, however, paſſed by a conſiderable majority.

The tax which was impoſed upon retail ſhops in 1785, had excited great complaints, and a very vigorous oppoſition throughout the nation, from the time it had received the ſanction of parliament; and in the houſe of commons, Mr. Fox had been indefatigable in his endeavours for its repeal. On the 24th of April, this year, he brought the ſubject under the conſideration of the houſe, ſupported by ſtrong petitions from the principal cities and towns in the kingdom. He ſhewed that the tax fell partially upon a ſober and induſtrious claſs of citizens, and could not be thrown upon the conſumer, as Mr. Pitt originally ſuppoſed: Mr. Fox was moſt ably ſeconded by Mr. Lambton, a young member, who had juſt taken his ſeat for the city of Durham, whoſe obſervations were ſo forcible, as to draw from the chancellor of the exchequer himſelf, ſtrong expreſſions of applauſe and admiration. Mr. Pitt however declared, that his mind was not yet ſatisfied as to the pernicious operation of the tax, and the motion was negatived.

The tranquillity of the nation, and of Europe in general; the little of party violence that appeared in the country at this period; the obligations which Mr. Pitt confeſſedly was under to the diſſenters, and the high favour in which Mr. Beauſoy, as well as ſome others of that denomination, were held by

the miniſter, encouraged that gentleman, on the 28th of March, to attempt a repeal of the corporation and teſt acts. The general arguments employed by Mr. Beauſoy and others were, that the teſt act was not originally intended to operate againſt the diſſenters, but to prevent the pernicious intrigues and influence of the popiſh party; that the diſſenters had deſerved well of the nation, and particularly of his Majeſty's family, of whom, from the revolution, they had been the moſt zealous ſupporters; that every man having an undoubted right to judge for himſelf in matters of religion, he ought not, on account of the exerciſe of that right, to incur any puniſhment, or be branded with any mark of infamy; and that the excluſion from military ſervice, and civil truſts, was both a puniſhment and an opprobrious diſtinction. The examples of Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and the dominions of the Emperor, were cited, againſt the ſyſtem of annexing civil diſqualifications to religious opinions.

In anſwer to theſe arguments it was urged, that the acts in queſtion were meant to include both papiſts and proteſtant diſſenters; and that the corporation act, in particular, was profeſſedly made againſt the ſectaries, and not againſt the papiſts, though it eventually included both. It was denied, that refuſing to receive the ſacrament, according to the uſage of the Church of England, was attended with any puniſhment or mark of diſgrace. This, therefore, was held not to be a fair ſtatement of the fact; the true ſtatement, it was added, was this: there muſt be a reſtriction of rights in all ſocieties; for inſtance, all the modes of repreſentation in this country, neceſſarily included ſome qualification or other, and no freeholder was entitled to a vote for knights of the ſhire, unleſs he poſſeſſed the qualification

cation of a freehold of forty ſhillings per annum; to profeſs the eſtabliſhed religion of the country was made the qualification for holding certain offices: the true queſtion then was, whether there was any ſubſtantial intereſt which made it neceſſary that one part of the community ſhould be deprived of a participation in its civil offices: the intereſt of the eſtabliſhed church was an intereſt of this nature, which might be endangered by the repeal propoſed. There is a natural deſire, it was ſaid, in all men to extend the influence of their religion, and the diſſenters had never been backward in this. To prove this aſſertion, ſome extracts were read from the publications of the leading diſſenters, which were interpreted into a premeditated plan to overthrow the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment.

Such were the arguments by which Mr. Pitt and Lord North ſupported their oppoſition to Mr. Beaufoy's motion. Mr. Fox appeared, on this occaſion, as the able advocate of the diſſenters:—he remarked that, on the preſent occaſion, he could ſcarcely be accuſed of any improper partiality towards them; he then alluded to their conduct on the late miniſterial revolution, in which they had taken ſo decided a part againſt him, and in favour of Mr. Pitt: but he wiſhed to ſhew them, that though they then loſt ſight of the principles of the conſtitution, he ſhould not, on any occaſion, loſe ſight of his principles of toleration. Mr. Beaufoy's motion was negatived by a majority of ſeventy-eight.

On the 20th of April, previous to the uſual motions relative to the finances of the nation, Mr. Alderman Newnham addreſſed the houſe on the embarraſſed circumſtances of the Prince of Wales.

Notwithſtanding the allowance of fifty thouſand pounds per annum from the civil liſt, it appeared, that in the year 1786 the Prince had contracted debts to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds, excluſive of fifty thouſand pounds and upwards, expended upon Carleton-houſe. In this embarraſſed ſtate, his firſt application was to his royal father; but "a direct refuſal to afford him "any relief, was conveyed to his Royal Highneſs "through one of his principal officers of ſtate." It is reported that the Duke of Orleans, who was at this time on a viſit to England, preſſed him in the ſtrongeſt manner to make uſe of his fortune to whatever extent he might find neceſſary, till ſome favourable change ſhould take place in his circumſtances; but this offer the Prince declined.

The only expedient therefore that remained, was to throw himſelf on the generoſity of the nation; and, on this principle, Mr. Alderman Newnham demanded of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whether it was the intention of his Majeſty's miniſters to bring forward any propoſal for reſcuing the heir apparent from his preſent diſtreſſed and embarraſſed ſituation? To this queſtion the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that it was not his duty to introduce a ſubject of that nature, without his Majeſty's ſpecial command; and he could only ſay at preſent, that he had not been honoured with any ſuch command. Mr. Newnham, therefore, gave notice of his intentions to bring the ſubject regularly, by motion, before the houſe, on the 4th of May.

The activity of the oppoſition party, in this affair, created, in the mean time, no inconſiderable anxiety and uneaſineſs to the miniſters. On the 24th of April Mr. Pitt, after requeſting that Mr. Newnham would inform the houſe more particularly

larly of the nature of the intended motion, adverted to the extreme delicacy of the ſubject, and declared that the knowledge he poſſeſſed of many circumſtances relating to it, made him deſirous of perſuading the houſe to avoid, if poſſible, the diſcuſſion. Mr. Rolle, an adherent of the miniſter, declared, at the ſame time, "that the queſtion involved matter, by which the conſtitution, "both in church and ſtate, might be eſſentially "affected; and that if the friends of the Prince "perſiſted in their intention, it would be neceſſary "to inquire into thoſe circumſtances alſo."

The circumſtances adverted to by Mr. Rolle, have been ſaid to relate to ſome ſuppoſed connection between the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert, a lady of a very reſpectable Roman Catholic family, to whom he had for ſome time manifeſted a ſtrong attachment. "For (as a contemporary author remarks) not-"withſtanding the poſſibility of a marriage between "theſe two parties was effectually guarded againſt "by the royal marriage-act, great pains had been "taken, and not entirely without ſucceſs, to "miſlead and inflame the minds of the vulgar "upon that ſubject; with what view, it would "have been more eaſy to conceive in former times "than at preſent, when all the enemies of the "houſe of Brunſwick are ſuppoſed to have ceaſed "from among the nation."

Several deſultory converſations enſued in the houſe, at different times, upon the ſubject; and on the 30th of April, Mr. Fox came down to the houſe, with immediate authority from the Prince of Wales, to aſſure them, that there was no part of his conduct that he was afraid or unwilling to have inveſtigated in the fulleſt manner. The firmneſs of the Prince's friends on this occaſion,

appears to have gained him an entire victory over the miniſtry; for "on the 3d of May Mr. Pitt "had an audience at Carleton Houſe; and the "ſame night the Prince was informed by his Ma-"jeſty's command, in general terms, that if the "motion intended to be made the next day in the "houſe of commons, ſhould be withdrawn, every "thing might be ſettled to his Royal Highneſs's "ſatisfaction." The motion was accordingly withdrawn; and on the 23d of May, in conſequence of a meſſage from his Majeſty, the ſum of one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand pounds was voted for the relief of the Prince of Wales, and twenty thouſand pounds on account of the works at Carlton Houſe.

The total of the ſupplies for this year, amounted to twelve millions four hundred and fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſeventy nine pounds; and ſuch was the favourable ſtate of the finances, that no additional burthens were neceſſary.

After long debates, a deciſion of ſome importance paſſed in the houſe of lords, on the 13th of February, by which it was eſtabliſhed, that no Scottiſh peer, who had received an Engliſh title by patent, ſince the Union, ſhould be entitled to vote on the election of the ſixteen peers.

The impeachment of Mr. Haſtings was renewed with increaſed vigour, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, by Mr. Burke and the oppoſition party, in which they were unequivocally joined by the miniſter. The charge relative to the Begums of Oude, was voted on the 24th of January, by a majority of one hundred and ſeven; and that for oppreſſive conduct towards the Nabob of Farruckabad, on the 2d of March, by one hundred and twelve votes, againſt fifty. On the

15th of the ſame month, the charge relative to contracts and ſalaries was carried by a majority of thirty-four. That reſpecting Fezoola Khan, Rajah of Rampore, was moved and carried on the 22d; and the report on the articles voted, was ordered to be brought up on the 2d of April. The following day a committee was choſen to prepare articles of impeachment. The committee propoſed by Mr. Burke, were, Edmund Burke, eſq. the right hon. Charles James Fox; Richard Brinſley Sheridan, eſq. Sir James Erſkine; right hon. Thomas Pelham; right hon. William Windham; hon. St. Andrew St. John; John Anſtruther, eſq; William Adam, eſq; M. A. Taylor, eſq; Welbore Ellis, eſq; right hon. Frederick Montagu; Sir Grey Cooper; Philip Francis, eſq; Sir Gilbert Elliot; Dudley Long, eſq; Lord Maitland; hon. G. A. North; General Burgoyne; Mr. Grey.

A diviſion took place upon the nomination of Mr. Francis, againſt whom it was objected, that in India he had been perſonally at variance with Mr. Haſtings; and he was rejected by a majority of ninety-ſix to forty-four. The 19th of April, the charge reſpecting the revenues of Bengal, was carried by ſeventy-one votes againſt fifty-five. On the 25th, Mr. Burke preſented the report of the committee on the articles of impeachment, and moved, "That Warren Haſtings, eſq. be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors upon "the ſaid articles," which was carried in the affirmative; and was followed by a motion, that Mr. Burke ſhould proceed to the houſe of lords, and impeach Warren Haſtings, eſq. in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, which was alſo agreed to.

In conſequence of this proceeding, Mr. Haſtings, on the 11th of May, was taken into the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, and afterwards into that of the black rod; and being preſented at the bar of the houſe of lords, the articles of impeachment were read. He was then admitted to bail, himſelf in twenty thouſand pounds, and two ſureties in ten thouſand pounds each.

The remaining articles of the impeachment were agreed to without any debate, and afterwards preſented by Mr. Burke to the houſe of lords. The ſeſſion terminated on the 30th of May.

The affairs of the Dutch republic, which at the concluſion of the preceding year we left in the moſt diſtracted ſtate, now rapidly approached towards a fatal criſis. In the month of April, the armed burghers of Amſterdam and Rotterdam forcibly altered the repreſentation; depoſed ſome of the members of the ſenate, and replaced them by others more favourably diſpoſed to the popular cauſe. In the ſucceeding month actual hoſtilities commenced between the city of Utrecht and the ſtates of that province; and the ſtates of Holland marched their troops to the aid of the citizens of Utrecht; and to render the troops more inclined to the ſervice, voted them a conſiderable augmentation of pay.

In the mean time the city of Amſterdam became the ſcene of the moſt alarming riots and diſorders. A petition was ſigned by thirty-five thouſand ſignatures, real or fictitious, for the reſtoration of the Statholder to his rights and functions; and the quarter of Cattemburgh, where the ſhipwrights, and thoſe concerned with the admiralty, reſide, and which has conſequently been always attached to the party of the Statholder, exhibited formidable

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ſymptoms of inſurrection. On the 28th of May, a conflict took place between theſe perſons and the republican mob, in which the Cattembergers were routed, but not ſo completely as to prevent their return on the ſucceeding day, when the armed burghers aſſembled to receive them, and gave them a complete defeat.

While the parties of Holland were thus exhauſting their force and their ſpirit in petty conteſts, a deep-laid ſcheme was forming by foreign powers to reduce them once more to the yoke of the Statholder, and to a ſlaviſh dependance on the court of Pruſſia. Of the Prince of Orange, it has been ſaid, that "allied, by name rather than by "blood, to the illuſtrious houſe of Naſſau, ſo "fertile in heroes and legiſlators, few traces of "the ſublime qualities which rendered that family "immortal, were to be found in their ſucceſſor." The Princeſs, however, like moſt of the German women, poſſeſſed both talents and inclination for political intrigue. In the civil conteſts which had taken place, ſo adverſe and ſo diſgraceful to her huſband, ſhe had taken refuge at Nimeguen; but in the month of June adopted the bold and hazardous reſolution of proceeding to the Hague, where the States-General were at that period aſſembled.

It would be of ſmall utility to examine minutely the innumerable conjectures which have been entertained reſpecting the motives and the objects of this ſingular reſolution. It has been ſuſpected that it was a part of the great plan projected by the cabinet of Pruſſia for the ſubjugation of Holland, and that it was deſigned merely to afford a pretext for the interference of that court, to whom the Princeſs was ſo nearly allied. The republican

party in Holland asserted, that the object of the Princess was to corrupt the soldiery and the states; while, after all that has been said, the measure might be the instantaneous movement of a sanguine and active mind, and the Princess might really hope, by her presence and influence with the States General, to effect an amicable accommodation.

The Princess travelled in the most private manner, without guards, and accompanied only by the Baroness Wassanaar, two or three gentlemen, and a few domestics. At about a league beyond Schoonhoven, the travellers were stopped by a party of the military, and forced back to Nimeguen.

The arrest of the Princess was the signal for the immediate interference of the court of Berlin. On the 10th of July the King addressed a strong memorial to the States of Holland, in which he affected to consider the insult which his sister had sustained, as a personal indignity offered to himself. The States returned an answer to the memorial, in which they attempted to fix the principal blame of the transaction on the Princess, who had adopted so rash a measure, as that of suddenly entering the territories of Holland, without previously acquainting the States with her design; and thus, after various recriminations, the matter remained in an undecided state, and both parties prepared for war.

In this critical situation the Dutch republicans had the mortification to find themselves abandoned by that ally on whom they had placed the firmest reliance. The derangement of the French finances entirely incapacitated that court from assisting the popular party; and the answer of the French

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King to their memorial, condemning, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the arreſt of the Princeſs, at once annihilated all their flattering expectations of vigorous and effectual ſupport.

The Duke of Brunſwick, at the head of only fifteen thouſand men, entered the territories of the States General, on the 13th of September; and the event ſufficiently evinced how inadequate a commercial ſtate is to military exertion. Though commanded by ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and moſt gallant of the French officers, the wretched ſoldiery and volunteers of Holland fled before the trivial force of the Duke of Brunſwick, with a precipitation unexampled. In the height of their conſternation, they even omitted the precaution of opening the ſluices, to impede the progreſs of the Pruſſian general; and ſo rapid were his advances, that an Engliſh gentleman, travelling poſt, and who had entered the ſtates the day before, at the ſame point, and purſued the ſame route, was overtaken by a diviſion of the Pruſſian army, before he reached the vicinity of the Hague. The towns and fortreſſes were abandoned, in rapid ſucceſſion, by the affrighted garriſons. A faint reſiſtance was attempted at Amſterdam; but it only ſerved to render the party ſtill more contemptible and ridiculous; and that city, which had formerly baffled the exertions of ſome of the greateſt generals that Europe ever produced, capitulated to the Duke, on the 10th of October. The full reſtoration of the Statholder to all his extenſive privileges, and the total annihilation of the republican faction, immediately ſucceeded.

To the weakneſs of France, and the deplorable ſtate of her finances, the Statholder was however more indebted for his reſtoration, than either

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to the exertions of his friends, or the puſillanimity of his adverſaries. That ſtupendous change which has ſince ſucceeded in that country, has been more a topic of converſation than of ſober reflexion; more argued than underſtood: it has excited the aſtoniſhment, but has not conduced to the inſtruction of the other nations of Europe. While the declaimers in favour of the dignity of human reaſon attribute the French revolution to the ſalutary diffuſion of knowledge and philoſophy, and while their adverſaries ſeek for its cauſes in the ferocity of the nation, and the intereſted views of individuals; the hiſtorian, who is accuſtomed to the inveſtigation of facts, and who traces carefully the ſucceſſion of cauſes and events, will find the ſolution of the phænomenon in the ambition, the folly, and profuſion of her monarchs.

It was by a ſeries of imprudent and expenſive wars, and by the total neglect of public œconomy, in all the departments of government, that France was gradually reduced to that deplorable ſtate, when a revolution becomes a neceſſary and natural event, and when the overthrow of eſtabliſhed authorities and rights, affords the melancholy, but the only means of relieving the general diſtreſs.

The extravagant though ſplendid ambition of Louis XIV. and the expenſive pleaſures of his ſucceſſor, had produced an accumulation of debt, which, without any addition, threatened on the ſlighteſt ſhock to fall with unexampled violence on the devoted head of their unfortunate deſcendant. The part which France ſo imprudently acted in the late conteſt in America, added to the profuſion of the court in providing for its dependants, and in creating uſeleſs and expenſive offices,

offices to gratify the rapacity of courtiers, and to blunt the edge of oppoſition, gave the concluding blow to the finances of France, and increaſed the public expenditure to that alarming exceſs, when reſources could no longer be found for ſatisfying the creditors of the ſtate. There is a certain limit, which the expences of a nation muſt never exceed. The reſources of France, it is true, appeared almoſt inexhauſtible; the commerce of her extenſive and fruitful colonies, the induſtry of upwards of twenty millions of people, the fineſt climate of Europe, an extenſive territory, and a ſoil which, taken on the average, is at leaſt one third more fertile than that of Great Britain—theſe were advantages which no other country could boaſt, and which even the prodigality of her monarchs could ſcarcely exhauſt: but the wealth of the nation had flowed, in copious ſtreams, into the private repoſitories of miniſters, contractors, commiſſaries, ſtock-jobbers, farmers-general, and the minions of the court. The whole income of the country was monopoliſed by a few; a fatal inequality of property prevailed; a conſiderable portion of the nation idly ſubſiſted on the induſtry of the reſt; and to complete the miſery of the people, the moſt opulent claſſes were exempted entirely from public contributions, or the proportion which they paid bore no compariſon with the extent of their revenues. The ſources of taxation were therefore completely exhauſted. Miniſter had ſucceeded miniſter in vain. The parſimonious œconomy of Mr. Neckar, and the ſplendid empiriciſm of Calonne, who pretended to diſcharge the national debt, by the creation of freſh loans, were equally inadequate to the immenſe ſupply that was demanded; and it

was

was evident even to this miniſter, that nothing but a violent innovation, at leaſt, could avert the impending calamity of a general bankruptcy.

The expectation of national inſolvency was, on the other hand, very naturally an object of terror to the court of France. They could not, in this ſtate of things, as when the debt was comparatively ſmall, eraſe the whole by a ſingle edict, and condemn with impunity thouſands to beggary and deſpair. In the preſent inſtance, ſo many were intereſted in the national funds, that to attempt to annihilate them, would be at once to give the ſignal for rebellion and revolution. The only expedient therefore that remained, was to induce the privileged orders, the nobility and clergy, who were almoſt entirely exempted from taxes, to ſurrender a part of their uſurpations, and to contribute equally, with the reſt of the nation, to the preſſing exigencies of the ſtate.

M. Calonne was the third who, ſince the diſmiſſion of M. Neckar, had ſucceeded to the difficult taſk of adminiſtering the dilapidated finances of France. He was confeſſedly a man of abilities, but the public had little confidence in his integrity. Candour, however, muſt allow that he had an Herculean labour to perform. As ſome violent innovation muſt be attempted, his object was to chooſe the leaſt evil; and that was an attack upon the property of the rich and privileged orders, who, as was already obſerved, had abſorbed almoſt the whole income of the nation. The obvious means of achieving this point, was to convoke the States General, which was an aſſembly repreſentative of the three orders, the nobility, clergy, and *Tiers Etat* or commons, and which had never met ſince the year 1641. From a popular

pular assembly, however, much evil was to be apprehended by the court. It was to be feared that they would not be contented with an equalization of taxes, but would proceed to other reforms, still more fatal to the interests of the great; and that the despotism of the monarch would be equally prostrated with the privileges of the aristocracy. Another assembly had occasionally been convoked; and as it consisted entirely of the principal persons in the nation, the minister flattered himself, that these men would have sufficient influence with the great body of the nobility and clergy, to persuade them to a peaceable surrender of a part of their privileges and exemptions. This assembly, from the dignity of the persons of whom it was composed, had been called the assembly of *Notables*; and to this M. Calonne determined to have recourse. The proclamation for their assembling was issued in December 1786, and the writs were directed to seven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field marshals, twenty-two nobles, eight counsellors of state, four masters of requests, eleven archbishops and bishops, thirty-seven judges of parliament, twelve deputies of the *pays d'état*, the lieutenant civil, and twenty-five magistrates of different towns; in all, one hundred and forty-four.

Suspicious, however, even of the conduct of these men, selected by himself, more than ordi n sagacity was exerted to secure a majority in favour of every proposal which the minister might offer; and he so happily arranged his plans, that, in the constitution of the Notables, he contrived that forty-four suffrages should constitute a majority of the whole. To accomplish this end, the Notables did

did not meet or deliberate in one aſſembly; but were divided into ſeven bureaux, or ſections, over each of which a prince of the blood preſided; and every queſtion was decided firſt in each ſection, and a majority of the ſections ultimately determined its fate.

With all theſe precautions, the meeting of the Notables proved fatal to M. Calonne. It was impoſſible to conceal facts; and the enormous annual deficiency of one hundred and ten millions of livres, excited, at once, the jealouſy of the public, and the deſpair of the privileged orders; nor was it poſſible to reconcile the latter to any ſcheme whatever for the equalization of the taxes. Among the Notables, too, the miniſter found ſome formidable opponents, one of the moſt active of whom was M. Brienne, archbiſhop of Toulouſe; and a rival ſtill more dangerous was the Count de Mirabeau, who had formerly been in habits of intimacy with M. Calonne. The Notables met on the 26th of February, 1787, and were diſſolved on the 25th of May, without having effected any thing. M. Calonne was ſoon after diſmiſſed by the intrigues of the Baron de Breteüil, who was the favourite of the Queen; and his opponent, the Archbiſhop of Toulouſe, ſucceeded to the place of comptroller general of the finances.

The new miniſter was not more ſucceſsful than his predeceſſor. He did not dare to proceed to the ſame adventurous lengths with M. Calonne. He did not preſume to propoſe an equal land-tax; to appropriate to the ſtate a part of the revenues of the church; to tax the officers of ſtate; to touch the royal demeſnes; as it is ſaid the latter recommended, or intended to recommend to the Notables. The taxes which he propoſed for the liquidation

dation of the arrears due to the public creditors, were a double poll-tax, a third twentieth upon property, and a ſtamp-duty; and theſe he attempted to levy in the ancient mode of raiſing ſupplies by royal edict. In the parliament of Paris he experienced the moſt obſtinate oppoſition; they aſſerted that theſe new burdens were more than the people could bear; and as it was neceſſary to their execution that the edict ſhould be regiſtered by the parliament, the King was obliged to enforce obedience by his abſolute authority; and held what is called a bed of juſtice, or ſolemn meeting of the whole parliament, while he compelled the refractory aſſembly to regiſter the edicts in his royal preſence.

A ſpirited proteſt was entered by the parliament againſt this forcible violation of their records; and the conſequence was, that they were baniſhed to Troyes. After remaining for ſome time in this ſtate of diſgrace and degradation, the parliament purchaſed their recall by conſenting to regiſter the edict for the additional twentieth. This ill-concerted union did not, however, long ſubſiſt. The urgent neceſſities of the ſtate required extraordinary ſupplies. On the 7th of November, therefore, the King entered the hall of parliament, at a very crowded ſeſſion, and propoſed for their approbation a new edict, authoriſing a loan of four hundred and fifty millions of livres, or near nineteen millions ſterling. A long and vehement debate ſucceeded; and the King, after ſitting for nine hours, wearied with the conteſt, and probably chagrined at the freedom of the ſpeakers, roſe at length, and commanded the edicts to be regiſtered without farther oppoſition. The firſt to oppoſe this mandate was the Duke of Orleans, the firſt prince

prince of the blood; and his proteſt was confirmed by the unanimous voice of the aſſembly.

The Duke of Orleans immediately received an order from the King, to confine himſelf to one of his ſeats about fifteen leagues from Paris, and was prohibited all intercourſe whatever, except with his own family. M. Freteau, and the Abbé Sabatiere, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the debate by the warmth and energy of their harangues, were ſeized under the authority of *lettres-de-cachet*, and conveyed to different priſons.

While ſuch was the ſtate of affairs in the other parts of Europe, the flame of liberty which had blazed in Holland, but which was extinguiſhed through the puſillanimity of a commercial people, began gradually to ſpread into the dominions of the Emperor, and the hardy Flemings appeared almoſt prepared to reject the heavy yoke of Auſtria. The reforms in the church which the Emperor attempted, were endured, we have already ſeen, with reluctance; but when he proceeded to invade the civil conſtitution, then a moſt formidable party united with the church, and even the great maſs of the people found it their intereſt to oppoſe the innovations of the ſovereign. The municipal government of the ſtates of Brabant and Flanders is an ariſtocracy, but it is a mild one. In Brabant, the government of which is beſt defined and beſt underſtood, the ſupreme juriſdiction of the villages is veſted in the lords of the manors, or baronies to which they belong; this juriſdiction is, however, delegated by them, in trivial caſes, to reſpectable men, who act as magiſtrates in the ſeveral villages where they reſide, with an appeal ultimately to the baronial court. The juriſdiction of the cities, both in civil and criminal

criminal caſes, is veſted in the magiſtrates of thoſe cities, who are generally perſons educated to the law, and ſelected from the moſt ancient and and honourable families. The ſupreme tribunal of the country is, however, eſtabliſhed at Bruſſels, and is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the council of Brabant. The functions of this tribunal are not confined to the adminiſtration of juſtice; but the council of Brabant is alſo a council of ſtate; and no act of the ſovereign is valid, or received as law, till confirmed by the council, and till the chancellor has affixed to it the great ſeal of Brabant: beſides this, the whole right of levying taxes, &c. is veſted in the States of Brabant, which is a repreſentation of the people, though not on a very popular plan. Theſe privileges are ſolemnly confirmed by the conſtitution, which, from the circumſtances attending its execution, is denominated the *joyeuſe entrée*, and conſtitutes the *magna charta* of Brabant.

On the 1ſt of January, 1787, two imperial edicts were iſſued, the direct and avowed purpoſe of which was, the abolition of this conſtitution. All the ancient tribunals of juſtice, and even the great council of Brabant, were formally ſuppreſſed, and tribunals of a new deſcription, framed on the model of the ſevere and arbitrary governments of the ancient Auſtrian dominions, were eſtabliſhed in their ſtead. A new form of government was preſcribed to the States; and a new "council of "general government" was eſtabliſhed, which was to be entirely directed by a miniſter whom the houſe of Auſtria was to place at its head; other innovations of leſs importance were added, but all equally contradictory to both the letter and ſpirit of the *joyeuſe entrée*, and equally ſubverſive of the rights of the people.

Even the obſcure and quiet receſſes of literature, and ſcience were not ſecured from the innovating hand of Joſeph. The univerſity of Louvain was deſtined to undergo a complete alteration; and, jealous of the attachment which the theological ſchools in the ſeveral colleges of that univerſity ſtill preſerved to the holy ſee, Joſeph, at one blow, annihilated the whole, and eſtabliſhed a new general ſeminary for the ſtudy of theology, the profeſſors to be nominated, not in the ancient manner, but by the ſole authority of the Emperor.

Thus every party in the country was intereſted in oppoſing the arbitrary meaſures of Joſeph; and to theſe public injuries were added ſeveral inſtances of private outrage to reſpectable individuals. The States of Brabant not only firmly remonſtrated, but even iſſued an injunction to the great council of Brabant, to pay no attention to the late edicts, and to proceed as uſual in the exerciſe of its functions. The States of Flanders and Hainault nobly ſeconded thoſe of Brabant; and the clergy and people through all the provinces, with a generous ardour, crouded to their ſupport. In the mean time the court of Vienna, alarmed at theſe ſpirited proceedings, prepared to coerce the inſurgents by force; and the Count de Murray, an officer of note, was appointed to the command in the Netherlands.

The Ruſſian engagements of the Emperor, probably, once more ſaved the Low Countries from the horrors of civil war; and at the very moment that, with trembling expectation, the inhabitants were looking for the arrival of an immenſe force to complete their ſubjugation, advices were received that the deputies, whom the States had diſpatched

patched to Vienna, to repreſent their grievances, had been graciouſly received; that the ſovereign had profeſſed himſelf well diſpoſed to reſtore the *joyeuſe entrée*, and intimated a deſire of viſiting the Netherlands, to take meaſures with the States for the welfare of the people.

Agreeably to theſe intimations, before the cloſe of the year, the differences were completely compoſed; the volunteers who had aſſociated for defending the liberties of the States, ſpontaneouſly diſbanded themſelves, and laid aſide their uniforms; and, in return, Count Murray publiſhed a royal declaration, by which the fundamental laws of the provinces, and the *joyeuſe entrée*, were to be preſerved inviolate, as well with reſpect to the eccleſiaſtical as the civil orders; the new tribunals were ſuppreſſed, and even the ancient abbeys were reinſtated in their ſeveral authorities and privileges.

To explain properly this unexpected revolution in the ſentiments of the Emperor, it will, perhaps, be neceſſary to obſerve, with ſome attention, what was tranſacting between Ruſſia and the Porte. In the eyes of the public, that party which firſt makes a declaration of war, is commonly conſidered as the aggreſſor, and conſequently has ſome degree of prejudice and obloquy to overcome; and yet unprincipled and crafty ſtateſmen can eaſily find means of provoking their adverſaries, and reducing them to the neceſſity of appearing as the aſſailants, while they who are the real promoters of the miſchief ſhall eſcape the public cenſure, and even appear averſe to hoſtilities. Such was apparently the caſe, in the preſent inſtance, between Ruſſia and the Porte. The advantages achieved by the former, in the treaty of 1784, have been already

ſufficiently explained; and it appeared that theſe were intended merely as a prelude to more important acquiſitions. The beginning of the year 1787 was marked by the extraordinary ſpectacle of the progreſs of the Empreſs of Ruſſia to Cherſon, where it is aſſerted it was her intention to have been crowned with the utmoſt magnificence, and to aſſume the exalted titles of Empreſs of the Eaſt, liberator of Greece, and reviver of the Roman empire. She left Peterſburgh on the 16th of January, and arrived at Kiow, the moſt weſterly point of the dominions of Ruſſia, on the 9th of February following; at Kiow ſhe was received under triumphal arches, and on her arrival at Cherſon ſhe extended the circuit of the walls; and though the coronation was, on ſome reaſon, laid aſide, yet, as if immediately to excite the jealouſy of the Turkiſh empire, on one of the new gates ſhe affixed an inſcription—"Through "this gate lies the way to Byzantium."

In the mean time her conſul at Alexandria is ſaid to have entered into the baſeſt intrigues with the rebel beys of that country; certain fugitives from Moldavia and Wallacchia, charged with traitorous deſigns againſt the Ottoman government, were received in Ruſſia with marks of favour and attention; troops were ſecretly ſent into Georgia; the Khan of Tefflis, the vaſſal of the Porte, was ſeduced from his allegiance; and the Empreſs had the further inſolence to demand of the Divan that he ſhould be expreſsly acknowledged the vaſſal of Ruſſia. To this extraordinary requiſition were added ſome others, particularly that the Sultan would oblige the Leſghis Tartars to ceaſe from hoſtilities, and that certain advantages ſhould be conceded to her reſpecting the ſalt-pits

ſalt-pits of Kilburn, and a Ruſſian conſul eſtabliſhed at Varna, the chief port of the province of Bulgaria.

To theſe demands the Divan replied with their accuſtomed honeſty and frankneſs, by pointing out the article in the treaty of Kainargiac, in which the Khan of Teffliſ was ſolemnly acknowledged as the vaſſal of the Porte; the Leſghis Tartars, it was added, were entirely out of the juriſdiction of the Grand Signor; and the appointment of a Ruſſian conſul at Varna was ſtated to be uſeleſs, and altogether contrary to the wiſhes of the inhabitants.

At Cherſon the Czarina was met by the King of Poland, and the Emperor, the latter of whom prolonged his ſtay for a conſiderable time, and, it is confidently believed, formed all the neceſſary arrangements for an attack on the Turkiſh territories.

The court of Conſtantinople was not, it appears, unapprized of the hoſtile deſign of the Imperial courts; and whether with a view of anticipating their preparations, or whether inſtigated, as was affirmed by ſome, by the miniſters of England and Pruſſia, the Divan haſtily, and perhaps raſhly, determined on a declaration of war.

The Ruſſian ambaſſador, according to the barbarous cuſtom of the Turks, was, in the beginning of Auguſt, arreſted as a priſoner at Conſtantinople; and the Czarina was ſcarcely returned to her capital, before ſhe was followed by the Ottoman declaration of hoſtilities. In this manifeſto the Sultan enumerated the various inſtances of the perfidy of Ruſſia; expoſed, in detail, the whole of her conduct in the Crimea, her criminal intrigues with the Khan of Teffliſ, and other vaſſals of the

Ottoman empire, and the many evident means by which ſhe had induſtriouſly endeavoured to provoke a rupture.

The military preparations of the Turks were in leſs forwardneſs than might have been expected from their promptitude in commencing hoſtilities. In a naval attack on Kinburn, a Ruſſian fortreſs on the Black Sea, in the month of September, they were ignominiouſly defeated; and in a ſecond attempt, on the 12th of October, their diſgrace was ſtill more complete. The Ruſſians, in their turn, were baffled in an attempt on Oczakow.

The Turks, in the mean time, omitted nothing to conciliate the friendſhip of the Emperor, and received, even with temper and moderation, his poſitive declaration, that he was compelled by treaty to aſſiſt the Czarina with eighty thouſand men, adding, that if the Porte ſhould conſtrue this ſuccour into an avowal of hoſtility, he was prepared for every event. But the ſanguine and impetuous temper of Joſeph did not long permit him to confine himſelf within theſe limits. On the 2d of December a moſt inſidious and unprincipled attempt was made to ſurpriſe the important fortreſs of Belgrade. For the accompliſhment of this purpoſe four regiments of infantry, and three battalions of grenadiers, croſſed the Save during the preceding night; a body of equal force was to have croſſed the Danube at the ſame time, and to have appeared before the town on the other ſide. The progreſs of the latter was, by a ſeries of accidents, interrupted, and the attempt miſcarried. The Turks might have greatly harraſſed the Auſtrians in their retreat; but the commander apologized for his ſudden appearance, and attributed it to a report that the Ottomans were advancing

vancing to attack Semlin, the Auſtrian fortreſs on the other ſide. With that magnanimity and temper which characteriſed the Turks through the whole of theſe tranſactions, the aſſailants, on the ſtrength of this apology, were permitted to retire unmoleſted; but the perfidious views of the Emperor being juſtly ſuſpected, a ſtrong reinforcement was immediately ordered to Belgrade.

The only part which Great Britain could poſſibly take in the affairs of Holland, was to act as a check upon France, and to reſtrain, by her maritime ſuperiority, the hoſtile operations of that power. On the continent of Europe, from innumerable circumſtances, the army of England never can be formidable. The victories of Marlborough, and thoſe of the ſeven-years war, were chiefly obtained by foreign troops. But while the wealth, or rather the credit of this country is conſiderable; by appropriating to herſelf, as ſhe uſually does, the principal ſhare of the expences, Great Britain becomes of conſequence; and her naval power added to this, renders her of conſiderable weight in the ſcale of European politics. Such was the caſe in the preſent inſtance; and though the court of France, even in the month of September, intimated an intention of interfering in the affairs of Holland, that intention was laid aſide, as ſoon as it was evident that Great Britain was ſeriouſly determined to engage in the diſpute. On the 27th of October, therefore, a convention was ſigned between France and England, for mutually diſarming, and for the reduction of their reſpective forces to the eſtabliſhment which had been ſtipulated by the former treaty.

However neceſſary it might appear upon this occaſion, in a political view, to reſcue the Dutch

republic from the intrigues of France, it is a ſubject that muſt always be regretted by Engliſhmen, that Great Britain, from the circumſtances that have been already ſtated, never can engage in the affairs of the continent, but at an enormous expence. The ſubſidizing of the German princes, is the great gulph into which the wealth of England has been profuſely precipitated ſince the period of the revolution. It would not be an uncurious ſpeculation to calculate the ſums which from that period have flowed from this country into Germany, in which the maintenance, as well as the hire of the foreign troops, ought to be included. Theſe facts ſhould render the miniſters of this country peculiarly cautious and reluctant to engage in continental politics; this nation poſſeſſes infinite advantages from its inſulated ſituation; but it is a melancholy truth that it never has made a prudent uſe of theſe advantages. Common ſenſe would dictate that a commercial iſland ſhould carefully abſtain from mixing in the diſputes of the continental powers, ſince the aſcertaining of their boundaries, and the ſucceſſion of their ſovereigns, can be but little intereſting to a country ſituated like this. Unhappily the Britiſh nation has ever been obnoxious to a kind of political hypochondriaſis, and has been the dupe of *alarms* of different kinds, from almoſt the remoteſt periods of hiſtory. The *proteſtant intereſt*, the *balance of Europe*, a popiſh *pretender*, have coſt this country more than the œconomy of centuries could repair. At one criſis we are terrified by the gigantic ambition of Louis XIV; at another, by the increaſing power of the houſe of Auſtria; at one time our religion, at another our commerce is in danger. War is the remedy

for

for all theſe alarms, and the infatuated people plunge into the very evil which they affect to dread, while they fancy they are avoiding it.

It is poſſible that theſe reflections may not be extenſively applicable to the treaty of which we are to ſpeak, but they naturally aroſe from the mention of a ſubſidiary treaty; and if it be even granted that our interference on this occaſion was not improper, ſtill it muſt be a ſubject of regret, that we have ever occaſion to interfere in continental conteſts. In the courſe of thoſe preparations which were judged neceſſary by the Britiſh miniſtry, during the pendency of the diſputes in Holland, a treaty was entered into with the Landgrave of Heſſe, by which that prince engaged to furniſh a body of twelve thouſand troops, in conſideration of a ſubſidy of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds per annum. It may, perhaps, admit of ſome diſpute, whether adminiſtration was not precipitate in concluding this treaty: perhaps, conſidering the military power of Pruſſia, and that the court of Berlin was really a principal in the diſpute, it was not even neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the confederacy that Great Britain ſhould maintain any military force whatever upon the continent; and if it was neceſſary, the force which was engaged was probably inadequate.

The diſſentions on the continent of Europe, and particularly the expected rupture with France, relative to the affairs of Holland, had induced the miniſtry to ſummon a meeting of the Britiſh parliament at an earlier period than had been uſual for ſome years; and though the Dutch diſputes had been brought to a determination ſooner than was expected, the prorogation was not continued beyond the latter end of November. On the 27th

of

of that month, the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, the principal topics of which were, the happy termination of the troubles in Holland, and the treaty which had been concluded with the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel. On the motion for an addreſs, Mr. Fox made ſome animated ſtrictures on the policy of expending Britiſh blood and Britiſh treaſure in maintaining what was called the balance of Europe. He conſidered the ſpeech from the throne, as a public avowal, that thoſe principles which had been ſtigmatiſed as romantic, was ſtill the ſyſtem to be purſued:—it was ſaying to the nation, "Taxed "as you are in your candles, your windows, and "all the neceſſaries of life, labouring at preſent "under the heavieſt burdens, you muſt contribute "ſomething more for maintaining the balance of "Europe." He deſcanted on the inſidious policy of the deſpotic government of France, which, he obſerved, was ſtill diſpoſed to diſturb the tranquillity of Europe, notwithſtanding the derangement of its finances.

On the 5th of December, the Heſſian treaty underwent ſome pointed animadverſions from Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke. The article by which it was ſtipulated "that the Heſſian troops ſhould not be "liable to be tranſported by ſea, unleſs for the "immediate defence of Great Britain and Ire-"land," was mentioned as a peculiarly unfortunate exception, ſince, by the conſtitution, the King was not empowered to employ thoſe troops at home, unleſs with the expreſs concurrence of parliament, while he might probably want them, as in the laſt war, to ſerve in Gibraltar, the Weſt Indies or America. Mr. Burke obſerved alſo, that the preſent treaty was not merely a ſubſidiary

treaty;

treaty; but a treaty of alliance, and with this formidable probability annexed to it, that, in caſe of a war on the continent, inſtead of receiving twelve thouſand troops from Heſſe, we might be obliged to lend to that country ten, twenty, or a hundred thouſand men. The ſubſidy was, notwithſtanding, voted without a diviſion.

Several ſtrong obſervations were alſo made by the Oppoſition upon the ordnance eſtimates; a corps of artificers, which was propoſed to be raiſed, particularly excited the pointed ridicule of Mr. Courtenay. He expoſed, in happy terms, the abſurdity of eſtimating the merit of carpenters, maſons, and bricklayers, not by their ſkill in their reſpective trades, but by their height; and obſerved that the Maſter General expected men who could earn half a crown *per diem* at their trade, to enliſt for leſs than one third of the money, in the double capacity of artificers and ſoldiers.

Such were the principal tranſactions of parliament during the remainder of the year.

1788 Soon after the receſs, a bill was introduced by Mr. Pitt, for enlarging the power of the board of controul, under the title of "an Act for "removing doubts reſpecting the power of the "commiſſioners for the affairs of India." The profeſſed reaſon for this new act, was a diſpute which had ariſen between the board of controul and the directors of the India Company. At the moment of the general alarm reſpecting the affairs of Holland, government had propoſed to the directors, to ſend out four regiments of the King's troops, as a reinforcement to the army already ſtationed in India, to be tranſported in the ſhips of the Company, and the expence to be entirely defrayed by them. The propoſal had at firſt met the concurrence of the

the court; but the apprehenſions of war having ſubſided, a difference of opinion aroſe between the parties. It was intended on the part of the miniſters to render the propoſed increaſe of the army permanent, while, on the contrary, the directors indicated a ſtrong reluctance to ſo conſiderable an addition to their annual expenditure. By the India Bill of 1781, it was expreſsly provided, that the Company ſhould only pay for ſuch of the King's troops as ſhould be ſent to India by their own requiſition; and this proviſion, it was contended, was not repealed by any ſubſequent act. On conſulting ſome of the moſt eminent lawyers, the opinions of Meſſ. Erſkine, Bearcroft, and Mansfield, were decidedly in favour of the directors.

Though Mr. Pitt did not chooſe to ſubmit his pretenſions to a court of law, he did not abandon his principle, and introduced his bill as "declaratory" of the act of 1784. On the ſecond reading, which was on the 3d of March, the Eaſt-India Company were heard by counſel, at the bar of the houſe, and Mr. Erſkine appeared as their principal advocate. In the courſe of his pleading, he took occaſion to introduce a parallel between the Eaſt-India Bill of Mr. Fox, of which he had been a ſtrenuous ſupporter, and that of Mr. Pitt, which had been adopted by the legiſlature. Calumny, he ſaid, had repreſented the former as a violation of chartered rights, and as inimical to the privileges and property of the India Company; the more ſucceſsful meaſure of Mr. Pitt had been introduced with modeſt and humble pretenſions; but with all theſe ſpecious appearances, it had *ſtolen* every thing that Mr. Fox had *demanded*; it had ſoothed the Company into a reliance upon deceitful

deceitful promiſes, and, while it preſented them with the trappings of ſovereignty, had reduced them to the condition of abject ſlaves.

In its paſſage through the houſe, the bill was oppoſed upon ſtill more extenſive grounds. It was aſſerted, that, in paſſing the act of 1784, the legiſlature had no conception of ſuch an exerciſe of power being veſted in the board of controul, as was now claimed. The directors were to prepare their diſpatches, to tranſmit them to the commiſſioners, and to receive them back in fourteen days. In certain caſes, indeed, in matters requiring ſecrecy, ſuch as reſpected the making of war or peace, or the forming of treaties and negociations with the native powers, it was provided, that the board of controul ſhould be empowered to originate diſpatches under certain conditions; but this exception only ſerved to prove, more ſtrongly, the true conſtruction of the remaining clauſes, and that the principle was altogether againſt the preſent declaratory bill.

The preſent ſyſtem was repreſented as a ſyſtem of patronage, and this act was conſidered as only one ſtep more towards its completion. It was ſaid, that hard meaſure had been dealt to the India Company; and the act of 1784, explained and enlarged by the declaratory act, tacitly conveyed to the board of controul, powers full as hoſtile to the rights of the Company, as that of Mr. Fox. The meaſure propoſed of ſending over a reinforcement of the King's troops, was condemned as improvident. It would have been more conſiſtent with œconomy to have ſuffered the Company to raiſe four new regiments, and officer them with their own officers, who were already on the ſpot, than to tranſport the

the regiments with their full compliment of officers; and indeed the neceſſity of a reinforcement of Europeans was entirely denied by a gentleman particularly converſant in India affairs, while we had a native force of fifty thouſand ſeapoys, infinitely more adapted to the climate, more patient of fatigue than Europeans, and as well diſciplined, and as much to be depended on as any regiment that ever went out of England. The hard caſe of the officers in the Company's ſervice was ſtrongly preſſed upon the juſtice and benevolence of the houſe. The riſe of theſe officers was only by ſeniority, and of conſequence was attended with the ſloweſt and moſt painful progreſſion. Their merits were placed in a moſt conſpicuous point of view: by unparalleled exertions they had acquired an empire, yielding a revenue of ten millions ſterling; and, at the concluſion of the late war, they were not paid at all, or paid in Bengal bills, with the loſs of thirty or forty per cent.; and in addition to all their hardſhips, a number of them had already been ſuperſeded by two hundred king's officers.

In defence of the bill, it was generally pleaded, that it was no more than a right and fair conſtruction of the bill of 1784, which, without ſuch a power as was now claimed, muſt be nugatory; and government could not be, in any reſpect, reſponſible for the defence of India. A power, indeed, nearly ſimilar to that in queſtion had been actually exerciſed by the board of controul; they had proceeded to reduce the enormous eſtabliſhment in India, and their right of interference, in that inſtance, had never been queſtioned. It was acknowledged that it had been the profeſſed object of the act of 1784, to aſſume the power of controul

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and ſuperintendance, without aſſuming the patronage; and, in the preſent bill, the miniſter declared, that every thing had been done, which his underſtanding had ſuggeſted for the diminution of patronage. The regiments in queſtion were royal regiments, and it could not be ſuppoſed that the King would entirely depart from his prerogative of naming the officers; but he had acted with attention, alſo, to the Company, having relinquiſhed the patronage of half the regiments, and left the diſpoſal of theſe commiſſions in the hands of the directors. The Company had, indeed, alledged that they had ſix hundred officers unemployed; but the King could not forget that he had two thouſand eight hundred officers upon half-pay, not perhaps more meritorious, but certainly not leſs ſo than thoſe of the Company. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared himſelf, however, willing to receive whatever clauſes or amendments the houſe ſhould think neceſſary to guard more effectually againſt the abuſes of patronage; and, at his deſire, the bill was, with this view, recommitted.

In the courſe of its progreſs the bill received ſeveral important alterations, the principal of which were, that no King's troops beyond the number now propoſed, ſhould be ſent to India under the authority of any exiſting law; that no increaſe of ſalary ſhould be given to any of the Company's ſervants, without the diſpatches to that purpoſe being laid before both houſes of parliament; that no gratuity ſhould be given, the propoſal for which did not originate with the court of directors; and that an account of the revenues and diſburſements of the Company ſhould be laid before parliament every year.

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The bill underwent a further inveſtigation in the houſe of lords. The Duke of Richmond, in particular, declared that he had never been pleaſed with any of the bills which had been brought into parliament for the government of India. He had oppoſed the bill of 1783 (Mr. Fox's), becauſe it flagrantly violated the charter of the Company, and placed an immenſe power in the hands of the commiſſioners. He had oppoſed the act of 1784 (Mr. Pitt's), becauſe it gave the crown an enormous addition of power. The preſent act, however, appeared to him perfectly declaratory of the powers conceded by the act of 1784. That act gave, in his opinion, a complete authority to the board of controul; and for that reaſon he had oppoſed it. The bill, however, paſſed both houſes, by a conſiderable majority, and received the royal aſſent.

On the 23d of May, Mr. Dundas laid before the houſe a ſtatement of the revenues of India. The ſurplus of the revenues of Bengal amounted to one million two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; the ſurplus of thoſe of Madras, to thirty-eight thouſand pounds; and the deficiency of the revenue of Bombay he ſtated at three hundred thouſand pounds. In the courſe of the following week a petition was preſented to parliament, by the Eaſt-India Company, complaining of certain pecuniary embarraſſments, ariſing from the arrears of the war, the government claim of five hundred thouſand pounds, the debt incurred in China, and the advances neceſſary to be made for the purpoſes of the China trade. For the relief of the Company Mr. Pitt moved that they ſhould be empowered to borrow a ſum not exceeding one million two hundred thouſand pounds; the

but obſerved, at the ſame time, that in the year 1791 they would probably have more than three millions above the diſcharge of all their incumbrances. The meaſure was carried through both houſes of parliament with no oppoſition.

The ſucceſs which had attended the motions for the impeachment of Mr. Haſtings, encouraged the oppoſition party to undertake that of Sir Elijah Impey, the late chief juſtice of the ſupreme court in Bengal. The conduct of this undertaking fell to Sir Gilbert Elliot, a young man, who had ſtudied India politics under that truly diſtinguiſhed advocate of *truth* and juſtice, Mr. Dundas. But (for what reaſons it is impoſſible to ſay) they found not that ſupport from the miniſterial ſide of the houſe, which they had experienced on a former occaſion.

The charges againſt Sir Elijah Impey were ſix in number. They were laid on the table of the houſe of commons by Sir Gilbert Elliot, on the 12th of December, 1787, and were in ſubſtance as follows: The firſt related to the trial and execution of Nunducomar, as ſtated in a former part of this volume, and concluded with charging the chief juſtice, in that inſtance, with a "legal murder." The ſecond was called the Patna charge, and related to the reverſal of the decree of the country court of Patna, and the impriſonment and ill-treatment of the judges, the ſubſtance of which was alſo briefly ſtated. The third accuſed the chief juſtice of an unwarrantable extenſion of juriſdiction, contrary to the ſpirit of the act of parliament for eſtabliſhing the ſupreme court at Calcutta. The fourth charge was in corroboration of the preceding, and ſtated, that, in a diſputed matter of account, the chief juſtice

committed a variety of outrages and indecencies, to the great ſcandal of the native inhabitants, and unauthoriſed by the functions legally attached to his office. The fifth article related to a circumſtance, which has alſo been noticed in this narrative, the acceptance of the office of a judge, in one of the courts of the Eaſt-India Company, from which he received a ſalary of eight thouſand pounds per annum, contrary to the expreſs letter of the act for the eſtabliſhment of the ſupreme court, &c. The concluding charge was in ſubſtance, that to ſerve the purpoſes of Mr. Haſtings, he had neglected his office of chief juſtice, and travelled round the country in the character of a ſolicitor, collecting affidavits to ſupport the governor general in ſeizing the treaſures of the unfortunate princeſſes of Oude.

On the 4th of February Sir Elijah Impey was heard in his defence, and with much ingenuity repelled the charge reſpecting Nunducomar. The points on which he chiefly inſiſted were, that by the act of 1773 the Britiſh laws were extended to all the inhabitants of Calcutta; and Nunducomar had been tried on the act of the 26th of George II. and for a crime committed poſterior to the year 1773; previous to the trial in queſtion, another native of Calcutta had been tried and capitally convicted of forgery, though he was afterwards reprieved; conſequently Nunducomar did not, in any view, ſuffer on an *ex-poſt-facto* law. He added that though it was true Sir Robert Chambers had at firſt heſitated, with reſpect to the application of the ſtatute of the 26th of Geo. II. to Indoſtan, yet the judges were finally unanimous in the ſentence, and of courſe they were all implicated, with himſelf, in the guilt, if there was

was any; and it was a further teſtimony in his favour that he had been ſuffered to remain from 1775, the date of the event, to 1781.

During the courſe of the ſeſſion, the evidence on the charge reſpecting Nunducomar was concluded. Mr. Farrer, who had been counſel for the priſoner, Mr. Rous, who had preſided over the mayor's court, and ſome others, were examined as witneſſes. The law members took a very active and decided part in favour of Sir Elijah Impey; and the chancellor of the exchequer ſpoke and voted againſt the impeachment. At length, on the 28th of April, the houſe divided on the charge reſpecting Nunducomar, Ayes fifty-five, Noes ſeventy-three.

On a cloſe and candid attention to the evidence, at the hearing of which we were perſonally preſent, it appeared that no proof of corruption, or colluſion with Mr. Haſtings, was eſtabliſhed againſt Sir Elijah Impey. The error, if there was any, was applying the Engliſh ſtatute, which makes forgery a capital offence, and which by many is conſidered as a ſevere and local ſtatute, only calculated for a country of extenſive commerce, where much paper currency is in circulation, to the natives of India. Under theſe circumſtances, and as Sir Robert Chambers had hinted his doubts on this ſubject, and more eſpecially as Nunducomar had ſtood forth as the public accuſer of Mr. Haſtings, it would perhaps have been at leaſt prudent in the chief juſtice to have ſuſpended the execution of the ſentence. It has indeed been ſaid, that, regarding the ſtatute of forgery in the light in which it has now been deſcribed, it is the practice of that eminent and excellent character, Sir W. Jones, in his charges to the Indian juries, to

adviſe them to indict forgery only as a miſdemeanour.

The firſt charge having been thus determined in the negative, the remaining charges were abandoned by the proſecutors.

The impeachment of Mr. Haſtings does not appear to have been at all affected by the tranſaction in parliament relative to Sir Elijah Impey. On the 29th of November Mr. Haſtings delivered in his written defence at the bar of the houſe of lords, and in the ſucceeding week it was tranſmitted by them to the commons. A committee of managers to conduct the proſecution was choſen by the houſe of commons, on the 11th of December, and conſiſted chiefly of the ſame members which had been originally appointed to prepare the articles of impeachment, except that the names of Colonel Fitzpatrick, Mr. Wilbraham, and Mr. Courtenay, were ſubſtituted for thoſe of Mr. F. Montague, Mr. Welbore Ellis, and Sir Grey Cooper. A diviſion again took place on Mr. Francis being propoſed, who was objected to, as before, by the miniſterial members, on account of the perſonal diſagreement which had ſubſiſted between him and Mr. Haſtings, while in India; and the name was rejected by a majority of ſixty, and that of Mr. F. Montagu inſerted in its ſtead.

In the mean time, Weſtminſter Hall was fitted up with conſiderable magnificence and expence. The trial commenced on the 15th of February, and was opened by Mr. Burke in a preliminary ſpeech, which endured four days, and which was chiefly remarkable for a ſeries of narratives, extraneous to the matter of the charges, and exhibiting the culprit in the moſt cruel and ferocious point

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of view. On the 22d of February, the Benares charge was opened by Mr. Fox; and it was concluded by Mr. Grey, on the 25th. The examination of evidence on this charge continued till the 15th of April, when the charge relative to the Begums or Princeſſes of Oude was opened by Mr. Adam. The hearing of evidence on this charge engroſſed almoſt the whole of the remaining part of the ſeſſion; and Mr. Sheridan ſummed up the evidence in a ſpeech which, for five days, engroſſed the attention of a numerous audience, and was univerſally allowed to be one of the moſt perfect oratorical eſſays that ever was delivered in the Engliſh language.

Perhaps there is no mark ſo unequivocal of the progreſs of mankind in civilization and intellectual excellence, as the extenſion of their cares and attentions beyond the narrow circle of ſelf-intereſt, and directing them to the reform of thoſe ſyſtems of oppreſſion, which the ignorance, inattention, and inhumanity of mankind have ſuffered to receive the ſanction of time, and the authority of law. One of the moſt important proofs of the influence of knowledge and literature exhibited by the preſent age, was the general attention which, about the period we are now recording, was excited to the cruelty and injuſtice of the African ſlave-trade. This nefarious traffic had been carried on during the courſe of more than two ſucceſſive centuries, and had received, more than once, if not the poſitive, at leaſt the virtual ſanction of the legiſlature of Great Britain, without a ſingle ſuſpicion apparently ariſing concerning the unlawfulneſs of the principle, or the inhumanity of the practice. One of the firſt writers who appears to have noticed the ſubject, was the celebrated Biſhop

Warburton, who in a ſermon preached before the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel, in 1766, inveighed againſt the traffic, with all that energy and vehemence by which his compoſitions are ſo much diſtinguiſhed. The celebrated Mr. Weſley alſo having been, in the courſe of his travels in America, a frequent ſpectator of the miſeries of the degraded Africans, much about the ſame period publiſhed an excellent little pamphlet entitled "Thoughts on Slavery." Mr. Granville Sharpe, whoſe name will ever retain a diſtinguiſhed place in the annals of virtue and humanity, was the next advocate for the negroes; and he was followed, in the years 1785, 1786, and 1787, by the Rev. Mr. Ramſay, who had long been reſident in the Weſt Indies, and by a number of able writers, who expoſed equally the injuſtice, the impolicy, and the national diſgrace of continuing to licence a commerce ſo injurious to human nature, and ſo oppoſite to religion.

Among the ſtrenuous advocates for humanity on this occaſion, appeared the preſent pious and amiable Biſhop of London; Mr. Wilberforce, alſo, one of the moſt upright and able of the independent members of parliament, became intereſted in the ſubject; and in the beginning of this year, he, and ſeveral reſpectable members of both houſes, warmly engaged in a plan to effect the abolition of the trade. While theſe meaſures were purſuing with reſpect to the agitation of the ſubject in parliament, a ſociety was inſtituted in London, at the head of which Mr. Granville Sharpe was deſervedly placed, and ſubſcriptions were ſolicited for the purpoſe of obtaining information, and for ſupporting the progreſs of a bill through the houſes of parliament for the abolition. Similar

ſocieties

ſocieties were inſtituted in other places, and petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons, in the courſe of the ſeſſion, againſt the ſlave-trade, from the univerſities of Cambridge, Glaſgow and Aberdeen; from the ſociety of Quakers; from the counties of Huntingdon, Leiceſter, Middleſex, Northampton, Stafford, Cambridge and Hereford; and from the cities of Norwich and Briſtol, and the town of Birmingham.

Encouraged by the general ſpirit of liberality and juſtice which appeared to pervade the whole nation, Mr. Wilberforce, early in the ſeſſion, informed that houſe, that he had in contemplation ſpeedily to bring the ſlave-trade under their conſideration; and Mr. Fox, at the ſame time, took occaſion to obſerve, that he had formed a determination ſome time ſince to the ſame effect, but was happy to find the buſineſs in ſuch able hands. The indiſpoſition of Mr. Wilberforce, however, protracted the diſcuſſion till the 9th of May, when Mr. Pitt, in the name of his friend, propoſed a reſolution founded on the petitions, the purport of which was to declare, that early in the next ſeſſion they would proceed to the inveſtigation of the ſlave-trade. He mentioned two opinions as prevalent upon the ſubject:—the moſt general, he believed, was, that the trade ſhould be totally aboliſhed; but others conſidered it as only requiring ſome regulations. He ſaid the houſe was not yet ripe for the diſcuſſion; but added, that the inquiry which had been inſtituted in the privy council, would, when it was completed, be laid before parliament, and would enable them to proceed to a deciſion equally the dictate of humanity, policy, and juſtice.

Mr. Fox, in a manly and forcible ſpeech, alluded

to the declaration which he had formerly made, of his intention relative to the ſlave-trade. He alluded alſo to what the miniſter had intimated concerning a committee of the privy council. There was no information, he ſaid, which could not have been obtained with more advantage by an inquiry directly inſtituted by that houſe. He reprobated all delay on a point of ſo much importance to ſuffering millions. The ſubject was not new; moſt men had now formed their opinions either for or againſt it. For himſelf, he did not heſitate to declare, that, in his opinion, the ſlave-trade ought not to be regulated, but deſtroyed; and it was one conſolation for the delay that might enſue, that he was convinced, the more the ſubject was conſidered, the more general his opinion would become.

The ſentiments of Mr. Fox were ſtill further enforced by Mr. Burke, Sir W. Dolben, and Mr. Martin; and Mr. Pitt's reſolution was unanimouſly voted.

Though the univerſity of Oxford had not as yet petitioned againſt the ſlave-trade, they had inſtructed their repreſentatives, of whom Sir W. Dolben was one, to aſſiſt in promoting the abolition; and it is but juſtice to add, from the well-known humanity of the hon. baronet, that no inſtructions from his conſtituents could be more conſonant to his feelings. As there was a ſtrong probability that the reſolution which the houſe had juſt adopted, might ſtimulate the ſlave dealers to particular exertions which might, by a temporary gain, compenſate, in ſome meaſure, for the uncertainty that might hang over their future commerce, a bill was introduced by Sir William Dolben for the temporary regulation of the trade,

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as far as reſpected the tranſportation of the negroes. By this bill, the number of ſlaves was proportioned to the tonnage, and ſome other regulations were enforced relative to the affording them proper medical aſſiſtance, and the ventilation of the veſſels.

If a proof had been wanting to evince that the ſlave-trade is entirely calculated to deprave the moral ſenſe, and to render callous the feelings of all who are engaged in it; that proof would have been amply furniſhed by the oppoſition which a bill ſo reaſonable in its principle, and ſo excellent in its object, had to encounter. It was ſcarcely moved for, before petitions were preſented from the merchants of London and Liverpool againſt the bill, and they were indulged in the hearing of counſel and witneſſes at the bar of the houſe. The meaſure however for which they ſupplicated, only ſerved to involve them deeper in diſgrace, and to ruin their cauſe. A ſeries of facts more ſhocking to humanity, never was revealed to public view, than thoſe which were furniſhed by their own evidences. It was proved, that five feet ſix inches in length, and ſixteen inches in breadth, was the whole ſpace allotted to a human being, in the cloſe hold of a ſhip, in the ſultry climates of the torrid zone. The lower deck of the ſhip was always covered with human bodies; and the ſpace between the floor of that deck and the roof, which was only five feet eight inches, was divided with a platform, alſo covered with bodies. In this dreadful ſituation, five perſons out of every hundred periſhed, on the loweſt computation, in a voyage of ſix weeks; but in a voyage to the ſouthern parts of Africa, the mortality was double.

Theſe facts were heard with a juſt abhorrence, both

both by the minister and the majority of the members; and Sir W. Dolben's bill passed through the commons with increased rapidity from the circumstance. In the house of lords, the Chancellor Thurlow distinguished himself by a pertinacious opposition. But what effect ought to result from any opposition, which placed the loss of profit to the merchants in competition with the lives of men? The bill was suffered to pass into a law; and no circumstance could better prove, how little adapted commercial men are to decide upon any general principles of moral or political truth, since it is a decided fact, that the profits of the slave merchants have been nearly double since the passing of that act, from the immense diminution in the mortality of the slaves. They now find that their views were in this instance, as they are in most, narrow and confined, and that they were incapable of calculating upon an extensive scale, or of enlarging their views to the comprehension of a distant object.

Little other business of any importance was transacted during the remainder of the session. The permanent peace establishment, which was stated this year by the chancellor of the exchequer at fifteen millions six hundred and twenty-four thousand pounds, had been increased by the additional West-India establishment, and the subsidy to the Landgrave of Hesse. The permanent revenue he stated at fifteen millions seven hundred and ninety-two thousand pounds. He added that, in the course of five years, the revenue had increased to the extent of five millions, of which only one million and a half had accrued from the new taxes, and the remainder proceeded from the actual improvements in the manufactures and commerce

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of the country. The ſeſſion concluded on the 11th of July.

The revolution which had been effected in Holland, in the preceding winter, was naturally ſucceeded by an alteration in their ſyſtem of foreign connexions; and a treaty of defenſive alliance between the Dutch republic and Great Britain was concluded early in the ſpring, and ſigned on the 25th of April. By this treaty the latter power guaranteed, in the moſt effectual manner, the hereditary ſtatholderate, with all its dependant rights and privileges, to the houſe of Orange; and ſtipulated to aſſiſt Holland, at two month's notice, on any emergency, with eight thouſand infantry, two thouſand cavalry, twelve ſhips of the line, and eight frigates; and this force was to be augmented in proportion to the neceſſities of the caſe. The contingent of the States General was, however, reſtricted in no caſe to exceed ten thouſand infantry, two thouſand cavalry, ſixteen ſhips of the line, and ſixteen frigates. In caſe of a war with a common enemy, the contracting parties reciprocally agreed not to diſarm, except by mutual conſent; and a proviſion was inſerted, ſtipulating that the propoſed ſuccours might be commuted for by a ſum of money. A treaty was alſo concluded, nearly about the ſame time, between Great Britain and Pruſſia, the main articles of which were to guarrantee the ſtatholderſhip in the family of the King of Pruſſia's relations; and reciprocally to aſſiſt each other with a body of ten thouſand troops, in caſe the dominions of either ſhould be attacked, upon a notice of two months.

As the dominions of Great Britain are inſulated, and completely ſeparated from the continent of Europe, the policy of theſe defenſive alliances has been

been frequently queſtioned by ſome of the moſt able ſtateſmen that this country has produced. The territory of Great Britain cannot poſſibly be invaded but by an enemy who can boaſt a decided naval ſuperiority; and if that ſuperiority ſhould ever unfortunately be obtained, it is probable that a body of ten thouſand foreign troops could be of little ſervice. The powers of the continent, on the contrary, are almoſt continually engaged in diſputes and conteſts; if, therefore, we engage in defenſive alliances with many, or even with ſome of them, a queſtion preſents itſelf to be reſolved:—Will not theſe alliances prove the means of involving us in almoſt perpetual wars?

In the narrative of political tranſactions on the continent of Europe, during the preceding year, we left the Emperor of Germany on the point of declaring war againſt the empire of Turkey. Whether his declaration was accelerated or not by the failure of his deſigns upon Belgrade, it will not be eaſy, in the preſent ſtate of information, confidently to pronounce: it probably, however, was not. The attack upon Belgrade muſt unavoidably have involved him in hoſtilities, had it been ſucceſsful; and we are therefore almoſt authoriſed to conclude that he had previouſly formed his arrangements for war. The Imperial manifeſto, in which the declaration of hoſtilities is formally announced, is dated the 8th of February, 1788. As the Emperor was totally without a pretext for his conduct, the whole of his allegations are founded upon the Turks having reſiſted his attempts for a mediation with the court of Peterſburg. The military operations of Auſtria commenced on the ſame day. Four armies had been previouſly formed on the frontiers of the Turkiſh dominions,

dominions, in Auſtrian Poland, under the Prince of Saxe Cobourg; in Tranſylvania, under General Fabris; in Croatia, under Prince Charles of Lichtenſtein; and the central force was ſtationed near Semlin, at the confluence of the Danube and the Save, and the command was given to Marſhal Count Laſcy. As the firſt object of the Emperor was to expel the enemy from their fortreſſes, Dreſſnic on the Corona was ſtormed by the Croatian forces on the ſecond day after the commencement of hoſtilities. An adjacent fortreſs was ſummoned at the ſame time; and on ſome pretext of treachery in the Turks, the whole garriſon was put to the ſword. Dubicza, a ſtation of more importance, was better defended by the Turks, and reſiſted, with exemplary valour, the repeated attacks of the Imperial forces. On the ſide of Belgrade, the Auſtrians were alſo unſucceſsful; and the Prince of Cobourg in his firſt movement experienced a defeat, in which he loſt almoſt one entire regiment.

The Divan acted with unuſual dignity on the declaration of war by the Emperor. Contrary to the barbarous practice which had ſo long prevailed under their government, of impriſoning the ambaſſadors, the Imperial envoy was ſuffered to depart without moleſtation; and they embraced the opportunity of liberating, at the ſame time, the Ruſſian ambaſſador from his captivity. In the anſwer to the Auſtrian declaration of war, they reproach the Emperor with wantonly violating a peace of fifty years continuance, without being able to alledge a ſingle injury or pretext. They adduce innumerable inſtances in which, for the preſervation of peace, they had complied with the moſt unreaſonable requiſitions from the court

of Vienna. They obſerve that they had never, on any occaſion, taken advantage of the embarraſſments of the houſe of Auſtria, but had always acted with a degree of liberality, temper, and good faith, which was but ill requited in the preſent inſtance.

The court of Conſtantinople, far from being depreſſed by the formidable combination againſt them, prepared to meet the approaching ſtorm, not only with vigilance, but with vigour. The Grand Vizir, at the head of an immenſe force, propoſed to march to the vicinity of Belgrade, while a conſiderable fleet was collected for the defence of Oczakow, and to enable them to diſpute the naval ſuperiority on the Black Sea.

The Emperor, among his hoſtile arrangements, did not omit the influence of corruption and intrigue. General Clairfait was appointed to treat with Mahmoud Ali, the revolted Pacha of Scutari: a Grecian chief of the name of Ypſilandi, who was Hoſpodar of Moldavia, was alſo corrupted; and the Auſtrians, in the month of April, took poſſeſſion of Jaſſy, the capital, and overran the whole province, Choczim only excepted.

In the mean time, the Turks at Dubicza continued bravely to reſiſt every effort for the reduction of that fortreſs; and in an attack on Turkiſh Gradiſka, in Croatia, to the ſouth of the Save, the Auſtrians were equally unſucceſsful. The Emperor repaired to the army in the month of March, but it was the latter end of April before he was able to make any hoſtile movement. The firſt enterpriſe which his Imperial Majeſty undertook in perſon, was the reduction of Schbatz, a fortreſs upon the Danube, to the weſt of Belgrade; and in this he was ſucceſsful. Dubicza, however, ſtill continued to reſiſt;

reſiſt; and in a variety of ſkirmiſhes the Auſtrians experienced ſo unexpected a reception, that they appeared diſpoſed to change the plan of the campaign, and to adopt a ſyſtem of defenſive, inſtead of offenſive operations. The march of the Turkiſh armies is remarkably ſlow; and though the Grand Vizir proceeded by the confines of Bulgaria, in the latter end of May, he arrived in the vicinity of Belgrade only in the beginning of Auguſt. The Turks now became, in every inſtance, the aſſailants; two ſucceſſive attacks were made by them on the quarters of General Fabris, in Tranſylvania; and though the Turks were ſaid to be defeated, yet it proved to be one of thoſe modern defeats, which are immediately followed by the retreat of the victors.

About the ſame time a powerful irruption was made by the Turks into the Bannat, where they attempted to cut off General Count Wartenſleben, but were repulſed; and the Auſtrian general effected his retreat. In the beginning of the ſucceeding month, the Emperor having effected a junction with General Wartenſleben, the Imperial army was vigorouſly aſſailed by that of the Vizir at Illova near Caranſebes; but this attack proved unſucceſsful. This repulſe was, in ſome degree, compenſated by the ſucceſs of the Muſſulmans in Moldavia, where the Auſtrian forces experienced ſuch a defeat, as compelled the grand army ſhortly after to break up their camp at Illova, and fall back on Tranſylvania, leaving all the low country of Hungary at the mercy of the enemy.

In Croatia the affairs of the Auſtrians bore a more promiſing aſpect than upon the Danube. Prince Charles of Lichtenſtein was ſuperſeded in the command of that army by the celebrated veteran

ran Marſhal Laudohn; and his firſt movement was ſignaliſed by the reduction of Dubicza, and ſoon after by that of Novi. The ſiege of Turkiſh Gradiſka was attempted in the month of October; but the inclemency of the weather, and the overflowing of the river, obliged the Auſtrians to abandon the enterpriſe. An armiſtice was concluded on the 21ſt of November, between the Auſtrians and the Turks, by which it was agreed, that neither party ſhould recommence hoſtilities without a notice of ten days to the other.

Thus ended a campaign, from which the Emperor had promiſed himſelf the moſt diſtinguiſhed triumphs, but which cannot be ſaid to have terminated greatly either to his honour or his advantage. The numbers of the Auſtrians who were ſwept away by ſickneſs greatly exceeded thoſe who fell by the ſword; indeed, the reports which we have heard of the ravages of diſeaſe during this campaign, are ſo greatly beyond all former example, that there is ſome reaſon to heſitate before implicit credit is affixed to them. The Emperor was not more ſucceſsful in his traitorous correſpondence with the rebel Pacha of Scutari; for that perfidious chief, though he at firſt affected to receive the Imperial envoys with a ſemblance of cordiality, conceiving that he had now a fair opportunity of reconciling himſelf with the Porte, on their return cauſed three out of the four who had been ſent from Vienna to be aſſaſſinated, and ſent their heads as a preſent to the Grand Vizir. The ſurviving envoy effected his eſcape with the utmoſt difficulty.

The operations of the Ruſſians commenced much later in the campaign, and were conducted with leſs rapidity and ſpirit than thoſe of the Emperor. The principal cauſe of this tardy warfare is gene-

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rally attributed to the exhauſted ſtate of the reſources of Ruſſia. In the commencement of hoſtilities, a levy had been made of one man in a hundred, throughout the whole empire; and this was calculated to raiſe one hundred thouſand men: but the levy was not effected without difficulty. Added to this, the government paper became ſo depreciated, that it was negociated at a diſcount of ſeventy per cent. and the Empreſs was compelled to ſuſpend the progreſs of the public edifices, and other magnificent works which ſhe had undertaken, and to appropriate the ſums deſtined to thoſe purpoſes to the ſupport of the war.

The army of Prince Potemkin, the favourite of the Empreſs, conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand men, and was deſtined for the ſiege of Oczakow. The Prince croſſed the river Bog, on that expedition, in the month of June; and the forces of General Romanzow croſſed the Nieſter about the ſame time; and one half (amounting to twenty-five thouſand men) was immediately detached, to cooperate with the Prince of Cobourg in the ſiege of Choczim. The Empreſs was in the mean time not inattentive to her naval preparations. A conſiderable fleet was fitted out early in the ſpring at Cronſtadt, in the Baltic; and one of inferior force was created in the Euxine ſea. This fleet, though it does not appear to have conſiſted of more than four ſhips of the line, with ſome frigates, and a conſiderable number of gallies, appears to have been divided into two ſquadrons; the firſt, under the Prince of Naſſau Siegen, in which the celebrated adventurer Paul Jones ſerved in the ſtation of rear-admiral, was ſtationed at Kinburn; the ſecond, under Admiral Count Wainowitz, rendezvouſed at Sebaſtopolis, in the Crimea.

In theſe ſeas the naval ſuperiority of the Turks

was unqueſtionable: but a fatal confidence in that ſuperiority, united with their unſkilfulneſs in naval expeditions, effected their ruin. The fleet of the Captain Pacha, Haſſan Ali, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Egypt, and on other occaſions, amounted to at leaſt ſixteen ſhips of the line, with nine frigates, and ſome ſmaller veſſels, and was deſtined for the conqueſt of the Crimea, the favourite object of the Porte. In the beginning of June, the Turkiſh Admiral preſented himſelf at the mouth of the Dnieper; and the Prince of Naſſau, conſcious of his great inferiority, withdrew his ſmall fleet within the bay of Kinburn, commonly called the Liman, in ſhallow water, where no ſhip of burden could with ſafety approach. As the Turkiſh commander therefore could not bring his whole force to the attack, and as the ſmaller veſſels of his ſquadron, which amounted to fifty-ſeven, were ſuperior in number to thoſe of the Prince of Naſſau, which were not more than twenty-ſeven ſail at the utmoſt, he diſpatched this part of his fleet, on the 19th of June, in the confident expectation of being able to demoliſh his opponents. The Prince of Naſſau, however, had ſtationed his force with ſo much profeſſional ſkill, that the enemy, not being able to attack him in a line, were diſgracefully repulſed, and two of the Turkiſh veſſels were blown up, and one went to the bottom. The haſty reſentment of the Pacha ſeems, on this occaſion, to have triumphed over his judgment; or, in the words of a celebrated writer, "his paſſions inſtructed his reaſon;" and, as if he had forgotten the advantageous ſituation of the Ruſſian ſquadron, he reſolved to conduct his principal fleet to the deſperate enterpriſe. It was the 28th of June before he reached Kinburn; and in the mean time the Prince of Naſſau had received a reinforcement of

twenty-two ſmall veſſels, mounting each a ſingle gun. The Turkiſh Admiral, on entering the harbour, ſtruck, as well as another veſſel of ſixty-four guns, and both were blown up by the Ruſſians. The approach of night prevented the Turks from eſcaping; and at the break of day the next morning the greater part of the ſhips of the line were found ſtranded on the banks of ſand. An engagement enſued, in which the Ottomans conducted themſelves with great courage: but in ſuch a ſituation, valour was of little avail. Five more of the Turkiſh ſhips were deſtroyed, and two taken: their loſs in killed is computed at two thouſand, beſides near ſeventeen hundred priſoners. After his defeat, the Captain Pacha ſailed for Varna, at the mouth of the Danube.

It was not long before the Turks were again ready for ſea; but as the two fleets were now more on an equality, and as it was eſſential to the reduction of Oczakow that the Ottoman fleet ſhould be diſlodged from their ſtation in its vicinity, the Prince of Naſſau was ordered by Prince Potemkin to attempt that object. The engagement took place on the 11th of July, and endured eight hours. The Turks, in the end, were defeated, and the ſiege of Oczakow was proſecuted without interruption. The fortreſs, however, from its natural ſtrength, and the bravery of its garriſon, was enabled to reſiſt till the 17th of December; and it was then taken by ſtorm, only in conſequence of the blowing-up of a powder-magazine, by a ſhell from the beſiegers batteries. Choczim had previouſly ſubmitted to the arms of General Romanzow, on the 29th of September.

While theſe ſignal advantages attended the arms of the Empreſs, her career of victory ſuffered at leaſt a momentary interruption from an unexpected

enemy. The courteſy of modern courts has, in what is called the diplomatic language of Europe, dignified the baſe and mercenary ſtipendiary with the name of ally; and the more conſiderable ſtates of Europe have generally regarded it either as a neceſſary appendage to their power, or as an oblation to their dignity, to retain, in a kind of ſecret vaſſalage, the leſs opulent princes. No power engaged more deeply in theſe connexions than the old government of France; and, indeed, ſince that ambitious court had been diſappointed in its plans of obtaining univerſal dominion by force of arms, it had been indefatigable in attempting to arrogate to itſelf the general direction of the affairs of Europe by venality and intrigue. It is not eaſy to aſcertain how long, previous to the acceſſion of Guſtavus, the court of Stockholm had been under the direction of the cabinet of Verſailles; but it is now well underſtood that the profligate and deſpotic meaſures purſued by that prince, reduced him to the neceſſity of exiſting in a ſtate of dependence on a foreign power. The execrable revolution of 1772, which deprived Sweden of its liberties, it is generally agreed, was planned at Verſailles; but ſo little did the infatuated monarch gain by the flagitious tranſaction, that by enſlaving his people, he only rivetted his own fetters. A ſtanding force was neceſſary to maintain his uſurped authority; and, to ſupport that force, he became the penſioner of a foreign court. The derangement of the French finances, however, diſſolved this connexion; and as Guſtavus did not dare, regularly and fairly, to convoke the ſtates, and to demand from them the neceſſary ſupplies, he was compelled to ſeek for a new alliance. This ſtatement is, perhaps, the only one which will explain the verſatile politics of this monarch,

monarch, which were afterwards manifeſted in a ſtill more extraordinary manner. The ally which preſented itſelf on this occaſion, was the Ottoman Porte; and beſides the advantage of repleniſhing his exhauſted treaſury, the ambitious monarch might have a further object in view, namely, to humble and diſtreſs a formidable neighbour, whoſe increaſing power was not only odious, but even dangerous to his political exiſtence. It has been inſinuated, in addition to theſe circumſtances, that the King of Sweden was ſecretly prompted by the King of Pruſſia, and by certain other powers in alliance with that court, who had long entertained a ſecret jealouſy of the rapacious politics of Catherine the Second.

The preparations of the King of Sweden commenced early in the year; but it was the month of June before the Duke of Sudermania, the brother of the King, a man of conſiderable military and political talents, was enabled to ſail from the port of Carlſcroon, with twelve ſhips of the line. An explanation of the warlike preparations of Sweden was demanded by the Ruſſian ambaſſador, Count Raſomouſki; but he was only anſwered by an order to depart the country. As however ſome pretext is always required, as a neceſſary branch of diplomatic etiquette, to juſtify or excuſe the entering into hoſtilities, Guſtavus covered his conduct with an allegation againſt the repreſentative of Catherine, of certain indirect and perfidious practices, the object of which was to excite rebellion againſt his government, and plunge the nation in confuſion and anarchy.

Amidſt all theſe ſerious indications of determined hoſtility, an abſurd attachment to the forms and ceremonies of war completely ruined the naval

expedition of the Swedes. While the Duke of Sudermania was cruizing in the Baltic, in the beginning of June, he fell in with a Ruſſian ſquadron of four ſhips of the line only, under the command of Vice-admiral Deſſen. Inſtead of improving his advantage, and capturing, as he might eaſily have done, the whole ſquadron, the Swediſh admiral contented himſelf with only inſiſting on a ſalute; and the Ruſſian commander, with admirable preſence of mind, extricated himſelf from the difficulty of his ſituation, by replying, that though, by the exiſting treaties, there could be no queſtion of a ſalute from a Ruſſian to a Swediſh fleet, yet he rejoiced in the opportunity of teſtifying his perſonal reſpect for the Duke of Sudermania, by paying him that compliment.

It was the beginning of July before the campaign regularly commenced on the part of Sweden. At that time the King proceeded to Finland, to aſſume the command of a conſiderable force, which he had been aſſembling on that frontier; and on the 4th of that month, an engagement took place off Hoogland, in the gulph of Finland, between Admiral Greig and the fleet of the Duke of Sudermania. The forces were nearly equal, the Ruſſian fleet conſiſting of ſeventeen, and the Swediſh of ſixteen ſhips of the line: the action laſted five hours; the Ruſſians loſt a ſeventy-four, and the Swedes a ſixty-four, and both fleets were in general greatly damaged.

The King of Sweden, on the 19th of July, commenced, in form, the ſiege of Frederickſham; but he was baffled in his attempt by a general revolt of his troops, who not only laid down their arms, but entered into a direct correſpondence with Ruſſia. To add to the misfortunes of Guſtavus, the court

court of Denmark, whoſe aſſiſtance in the war he had flattered himſelf with the hope of obtaining, declared againſt him; entered ſpiritedly into the alliance of Ruſſia, and even laid formal ſiege to Gottenburgh. On this critical occaſion, the courts of London and Berlin interfered; and if, as was ſuppoſed, they had been inſtrumental in engaging the King of Sweden in the diſpute, the interference was honourable. The allied courts, by Mr. Elliot, the Britiſh miniſter at Copenhagen, who behaved with great ſpirit on the occaſion, peremptorily threatened the Prince of Denmark with an immediate declaration of war, ſhould he perſiſt in his intentions of aſſiſting Ruſſia; and the Prince, whoſe prudence, probably, only wanted an excuſe for diſengaging himſelf from his obligations to the Czarina, aſſented to their requiſitions, and a ceſſation of hoſtilities was formally ratified on the 9th of October.

While the North of Europe was thus convulſed, the ſtorm which had been collecting in France, appeared to increaſe rather than ſubſide. The bold and ſpirited oppoſition of the parliament to the regal authority, evinced ſufficiently the weakneſs of the government, and that the people had loſt all confidence in the King and his miniſters. The year commenced with a ſtrong proteſt from the parliament againſt the late meaſures. They inveighed againſt the odious prerogative of *lettres-de-cachet*, and placed all their evils and abuſes in the moſt ſtriking point of view; they diſclaimed the principle of appealing to the mercy of the King for the purpoſe of obtaining the liberty of the Duke D'Orleans and M. M. Freteau and Sabbatiere; ſuch a principle, they aſſerted, muſt be the death of liberty, and is not only contrary to

all the inalienable rights of man, but to the conſtitutional privileges of Frenchmen. "If the "Prince and the magiſtrates have committed any "crime contrary to the laws, ſaid they, let them "be impeached; if they have not, in the name of "the people of France, we demand their liberty, "and will never ceaſe to demand it."

After much altercation of this nature, the court once more appeared to recede from its pretenſions, and the exiled members were ſet at liberty. As the miniſtry, however, were now ſufficiently convinced that the parliaments had inſinuated themſelves completely into the good opinion of the people, and formed an inſurmountable obſtacle to their deſigns, it was determined to re-model the whole conſtitution, and to attempt to govern independently of them, at leaſt to render their powers nugatory, and to bring even the inſtitution into gradual contempt. For the achievement of this purpoſe, a project was deviſed, the invention of which is generally attributed to M. Lamoignon, whom M. Calonne, before his diſmiſſion, had the addreſs to eſtabliſh in the important office of keeper of the ſeals.

The ſyſtem of this miniſter was ſpecious; and had it proceeded from one who could have been truſted by the people, and at any other criſis than that in which the parliament was actually engaged in a conteſt with the court, in favour of the rights of the nation, it might even have been popular. The firſt branch of it was the inſtitution of a number of inferior courts of juſtice throughout the kingdom, under the denomination of grand bailiwicks, which were immediately calculated to diminiſh the juriſdiction and credit of the parliaments, and even to curtail their emoluments. The other part

of the project consisted in the creation of what was termed a *cour plénière*, for enregistering the royal edicts instead of the parliaments, and which, of consequence, must virtually have annihilated all their importance in the state.

The *cour plénière* was to have consisted of princes of the blood; of peers of the realm; of great officers of state; of marshals of France; of governors of provinces; of knights of different orders; of members of council; and of a deputation of one member from each parliament of the kingdom, and of two from the chamber of accounts and supply. They were all to be nominated by the King, but their number was left, for the present, undetermined. Their periods of meeting, and every circumstance relative to their session, were to be regulated by the royal will.

These projects were kept a profound secret from all but the immediately necessary agents. The edicts were printed at Versailles in the most private manner; and they were to have been presented to the different parliaments throughout the kingdom, on the same day, which was generally understood to be on the 8th or 9th of May; and the registering of them was to have been enforced by the presence of the military.

The discovery of the schemes of the court is generally attributed to M. D'Espremenil, a young, active and enterprising member of the parliament of Paris; and the vengeance of the ministers, which was afterwards so pointedly directed against him, leaves but little doubt that he was the principal agent. He is even said to have procured copies of the edicts, and to have communicated them to some of his colleagues. The information thus obtained, occasioned a sudden meeting of the parliament

liament on the 3d of May; and, as they could not avow the ſource from which their information flowed, they profeſſed in their reſolutions, that from public report they had learned, that a dangerous conſpiracy was in agitation againſt their exiſtence. They proceeded to aſſign the cauſes which attracted upon them the reſentment of miniſters, viz. the reſiſtance made to the ruinous taxes which had been propoſed, and their ſoliciting the convocation of the States. They concluded by expreſſing their determination firmly to oppoſe every plan and attempt of the miniſters, which ſhould appear contrary to law, and to the welfare of the nation.

As the paſſing of theſe reſolutions had been chiefly promoted by the eloquence of M. D'Eſpremenil, and of another ſpirited member, M. Monſambert, the King ordered their immediate arreſt; but theſe gentlemen, having obtained information of the deſign, repaired for refuge to the hall of the parliament. The hall, on the 5th of May, was conſequently ſurrounded by an armed multitude. The commanding officer entered, and demanded the obnoxious members. A profound ſilence enſued, which was broken by the preſident, who, riſing from his ſeat, pronounced, amidſt the acclamations of the whole aſſembly, "We are all "D'Eſpremenils and Monſamberts." After ſome altercation and delay, however, the two magiſtrates requeſted permiſſion of the court to ſurrender themſelves; and M. D'Eſpremenil was conveyed to the ſtate priſon of the iſle of St. Marguerite, near Toulon, and M. Monſambert to the Pierre Enciſe.

The King, on the 8th of May, held a bed of juſtice, and preſented to the parliament the edicts reſpecting

reſpecting the *Cour Plénière*, and the grand bailiwicks; to theſe was annexed another ordinance, deeply affecting the parliament of Paris, ſince it reduced its numbers from one hundred and twenty to ſixty-ſeven. The King concluded the ſeſſion by a ſhort ſpeech, expreſſive of his royal will, that the edicts ſhould be regiſtered without delay; adding, that he depended on the zeal and fidelity of thoſe who were immediately called to form his *Cour Plénière*; and that he doubted not, but others of the magiſtrates would by their good conduct deſerve his favour, and be ſucceſſively called to that ſupreme aſſembly.

The King was however diſappointed in all his expectations. The parliament more vehemently than ever expreſſed their diſſent, and the individual members even declined accepting any ſeat in the new aſſembly. In their oppoſition they were powerfully ſeconded by the voice of the nation, and by the provincial parliaments. Alarming riots alſo took place in different parts of the kingdom, and in ſome places the military refuſed to act againſt the citizens. In this perplexed ſtate of affairs, the miniſter, who had been promoted from the ſee of Thoulouſe to the lucrative archbiſhoprick of Sens, judged it prudent to retire from office; and he was immediately followed by M. Lamoignon, who not long after terminated his chagrin, by putting an end to his exiſtence.

Previous to his reſignation, the Archbiſhop adviſed the recall of M. Necker as the only means of appeaſing the public diſcontent. That celebrated financier was indeed recalled; but the finances of France were deranged beyond the reach of moderate remedies. Could the privileged orders have foreſeen the ruin that awaited them, how readily

dily would they have been induced to ſurrender a part of their immunities! But it happened to them, as it frequently happens to others, who, wiſhing to retain too much, loſe all. The experiment had been tried by M. Calonne; and it was evident, that no authority but that of the States-General could effect any thing like an equalization of the taxes. The public voice had long demanded the aſſembling of this body; the refractory parliaments had all agreed in recommending the meaſure; and the impoſſibility of providing by any other means for the exigencies of the ſtate, compelled the court to accede.

A meaſure ſo very important to all the great intereſts of the nation was however not to be adopted without mature deliberation. Various difficulties preſented themſelves to embarraſs the miniſter. It was to be a meaſure of conciliation, and therefore the ſentiments of thoſe who might be affected by it were to be cautiouſly conſulted. If, in the national repreſentation, the privileged orders were to retain the ſame prepónderating influence as on former occaſions, there was a probability that the great object of their aſſembling would be loſt, and the States would be little more than a convocation of Notables: on the contrary, much evil was to be apprehended from an aſſembly conſtituted on principles too popular; and if the deputies of the people were to form the majority, it was not difficult to foreſee the entire ruin of the ſuperior orders. In this dilemma the miniſter determined to have recourſe to the aſſembly of the Notables, whoſe deciſion he expected would at leaſt ſtrengthen his oppoſition to the exorbitant demands of the commons, ſhould it be found prudent or neceſſary to oppoſe them; and,

and, on the other hand, might ſerve to reconcile the privileged orders to the new arrangements.

The Notables who were ſummoned on this occaſion were in general the ſame perſons that had been aſſembled in the preceding year. The proclamation for convoking them was dated the 5th of October, and they met on the 6th of the ſucceeding month. They were diſtributed, as before, into bureaus or ſections, with this difference only, that in the former inſtance the ſections had been ſeven in number, in the preſent they were only ſix. Each conſiſted, therefore, of twenty-five members; and the reſpective preſidents were, Monſieur, the next brother to the King; the Count d'Artois; the Duke d'Orleans; the Prince of Condé; the Duke of Bourbon; and the Prince of Conti. The inquiries propoſed to them may be conſidered under four principal heads, and regarded; the compoſition of the States-General, which included the important queſtion concerning the total number of the deputies, and the proportion to be aſſigned to each order; the forms of convoking them; the regulations to be preſcribed in the conduct of elections, the qualifications of the electors, and whether the *Tiers-Etat*, or commons, ſhould be authoriſed to chuſe a repreſentative from either of the ſuperior orders; and, laſtly, the inſtructions which the deputies were to receive from their conſtituents.

Upon the moſt important of theſe topics, thoſe which regarded the proportion to be obſerved in the repreſentation of the different orders, the qualification of the electors, &c. the Notables were much divided in their ſentiments; but the majority agreed in recommending as a model, the Aſſembly of the States in 1614, when the privileged orders greatly pre-

preponderated; and on a ſtill more important topic, which appears to have been incidentally introduced, viz. whether the different orders ſhould deliberate ſeparately in different chambers, and each queſtion be decided according to the majority of the orders, inſtead of by a majority of the individual deputies, the Notables (but not without many diſſentient voices) recommended the deliberating and voting by orders.

But however the opinions of the Notables might favour the cauſe of ariſtocracy, a very different ſentiment pervaded the nation. A variety of publications had been aſſiduouſly diſtributed, which ſerved to awaken the people to a ſenſe of their rights; and a repreſentation of the *Tiers-Etat*, or commons, at leaſt equal in number to thoſe of both the privileged orders, was almoſt generally inſiſted on, as well as the right of deliberating in one aſſembly, and voting by poll. Many ſpecious arguments were urged in favour of this arrangement. It was obſerved, that the deputies of the nobility and clergy did not repreſent, in the whole, a body of more than 500,000 perſons; while thoſe of the *Tiers-Etat* repreſented twenty-five millions. Was it not reaſonable, therefore, that the repreſentatives of ſo great a majority of the inhabitants of France ſhould at leaſt equal in number thoſe of the minority? It was added, that even to the repreſentatives of the people the influence ariſing from wealth, rank, and credit, would ſtill be extended; and though the deputies of the commons ſhould equal in number thoſe of the other orders, ſtill they would by no means be unanimous in their oppoſition; and as a number of theſe plebeian deputies muſt be devoted to individuals of the ariſtocracy, no evil was to be apprehended to the privileged

leged orders, even though they ſhould be more numerous, and deliberate in one aſſembly. On the other hand, ſhould the privileged orders be indulged in a more numerous repreſentation, and inveſted with a negative on the reſolutions of the commons, which the voting by orders would infallibly produce, it was obvious that no meaſure contrary to their intereſts or prejudices could be carried.

M. Necker ſeems to have been determined to retrieve the finances at every riſk, and to have conſidered the preponderating power of the commons as the leſſer evil. The Notables were diſſolved on the 12th of December, and on the 27th the proclamation was iſſued for convoking the States. The number of the deputies was not to be leſs than one thouſand; and the repreſentation of the commons was to be equal to the ſum of that of the other two orders. The day of their aſſembling was appointed for the 1ſt of May, 1789.

About this period, or perhaps a little previous to it, was ſecretly formed, that celebrated ſociety, or political club, which has ſince poſſeſſed ſo remarkable, and perhaps in ſome inſtances ſo pernicious an influence over the popular councils of France. It originally conſiſted of about forty gentlemen and men of letters, who had a private printing preſs, and who, by themſelves and their emiſſaries, were engaged in the conſtant diſtribution of political pamphlets among the people. In the following year, while the National Aſſembly met at Verſailles, this club became conſolidated with the Breton club, which was inſtituted by the principal deputies of the *Tiers-Etat* from the province of Brittany. On the removal of the King and the Aſſembly to Paris, the ſociety held public meetings

for

for the diſcuſſion of ſuch political queſtions as were to be debated in the Aſſembly; and elected a preſident, ſecretaries, and other officers. On the ſuppreſſion of the monaſtic orders, the club held its ſeſſions in the vacant chapel of the *Jacobins*, and from that circumſtance acquired the name by which the ſociety has been ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Societies of a ſimilar nature were very early in the revolution inſtituted in the principal towns, and correſponded regularly with the Jacobins of Paris.

It is ſometimes neceſſary to ſacrifice a little of chronological order to the great object of perſpicuity; otherwiſe, the ſcene which preſented itſelf at this period in our own country was ſufficiently intereſting to deſerve immediate attention. Soon after the riſing of parliament the health of the King was obſerved to be viſibly impaired; and the mineral waters of Cheltenham were adviſed, as being moſt adapted to the circumſtances of the caſe. The royal tour, however, appeared to have have been attended with but few beneficial effects; and the alarm occaſioned by the indiſpoſition of the ſovereign increaſed, at length, into confident reports of his deceaſe. It would be illiberal, and beneath the dignity of hiſtory, to record the malignant whiſpers which faction and calumny propagated on this occaſion. The general outline of the fact is all that can be intereſting or inſtructive on ſuch a topic: ſuffice it then to ſtate, that in the latter end of October, ſome ſymptoms were obſerved by the royal phyſicians, which indicated that the malady was of a nature peculiarly unfortunate, and ſuch as muſt inevitably produce a ſuſpenſion of the royal functions. The circumſtance was for ſome time kept a profound ſecret; but as no material abatement in the ſymptoms of mental derangement appeared,

appeared, and as the parliament had been prorogued only to the 20th of November, and no further prorogation could be iſſued by the King, it was judged unneceſſary to conceal the fact longer than the 14th of that month, when circular letters were iſſued to the members of the legiſlature, informing them that the indiſpoſition of his Majeſty rendered it doubtful whether there would be a poſſibility of receiving his commands for the farther prorogation of parliament, and therefore requeſting their attendance.

On the appointed day both houſes of parliament aſſembled; but, on the motion of the miniſter, an adjournment of fifteen days was voted. In the mean time a privy-council was held, and the royal phyſicians examined; and the reſult of their opinions appeared unfavourable to the expectation of his Majeſty's ſpeedy recovery.

Mr. Fox, whoſe faculties, both of mind and body had ſuffered a moſt painful exertion during the heats of Auguſt, in ſecuring the election for Weſtminſter in favour of his friend Lord John Townſhend, was, at the critical moment of the King's indiſpoſition, employing this interval of leiſure in a tour upon the continent. An expreſs was immediately diſpatched to this great leader of Oppoſition, which found him at Bologna. He returned with almoſt unprecedented rapidity; though the exceſſive fatigue which he endured on his journey had afterwards nearly coſt him his life.

The parliament again aſſembled by adjournment on the 4th of December. In the houſe of commons, Mr. Pitt moved that the report of the privy-council ſhould, on the Monday following, be taken into conſideration; but Mr. Viner ſuggeſted a doubt, whether a further examination of

the phyſicians might not be proper: in this opinion he was ſupported by Mr. Fox; and the miniſter, after ſome heſitation, acceded; and a committee of twenty-one members was appointed by each houſe of parliament, for that purpoſe, on the 8th.

The great advantage which an hereditary monarchy poſſeſſes over every other form of government is, that a regular ſucceſſion being eſtabliſhed in the ſupreme magiſtracy, the poſſibility of an *interregnum*, and of thoſe dangerous and often fatal conteſts, that ſtate of anarchy and violence, to which thoſe governments are neceſſarily expoſed, where the order of precedence is not ſo ſtrictly defined, are completely avoided. This advantage is ſuch as to counterbalance, in the opinion of the beſt-informed politicians, ſome inevitable inconveniences, which every candid mind muſt allow to be attached to this arrangement. But it is to be lamented, that the Britiſh conſtitution is defective in this inſtance; that no proviſion is made in the caſe of the temporary incapacity of the ſovereign, for the exerciſe of thoſe offices and functions ſo neceſſary to the welfare of the nation; nor any rules or principles preſcribed, with reſpect to the perſon in whom the executive government ſhall be veſted during the ſuſpenſion of the regal authority. Of this deficiency Mr. Pitt was enabled to avail himſelf on the preſent occaſion; and as one certain advantage would be the protraction of a buſineſs which muſt be fatal to his continuance in office, he moved, on the 10th of December, the day when the report of the committee was received, for another committee to inſpect the journals for precedents of ſuch proceedings as had been adopted in former inſtances, when the ſovereign authority was ſuſpended by ſickneſs,

neſs, infirmity, or any other cauſe. The motion was no ſooner made, than it was oppoſed by Mr. Fox, who objected to it as only formed for the purpoſe of delay. He was convinced, upon the matureſt conſideration, of the principles and practice of the conſtitution and the analogy of the law of the land, that whenever the ſovereign, from infancy, ſickneſs, or any other cauſe, was incapable of exerciſing the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indiſputable a claim to the exerciſe of the executive authority, in the name and behalf of the ſovereign, during his incapacity, as in the caſe of his natural demiſe.

It may well be ſuppoſed that Mr. Pitt, who had ſo frequently been accuſed of pleading the cauſe of prerogative, would ſcarcely omit ſo favourable an opportunity of affecting democratic ſentiments, as the declaration of his great antagoniſt afforded. He roſe with apparent warmth, and declared that the aſſertion which had been made by Mr. Fox, was little ſhort of treaſon againſt the conſtitution; and pledged himſelf to prove, that the heir apparent, in the inſtances in queſtion, had no more right to the exerciſe of the executive power, than any other ſubject; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the conſtitution, in behalf of the people, to make ſuch a proviſion for ſupplying the temporary deficiency, as they might think proper.

Mr. Burke ſupported the opinion of Mr. Fox, by many ſarcaſtical obſervations. He repreſented Mr. Pitt as the competitor of the Prince of Wales; and added, that if he was to become an *elector* for the regency, as undoubtedly every member of that houſe muſt be, if the doctrines which had juſt

been advanced were true, he ſhould eſteem it his duty to give his vote for the Prince of Wales, and not for the right hon. gentleman. Mr. Pitt's motion was however voted by a large majority.

The aſſertion of Mr. Fox, on this occaſion, was conſidered by ſome perſons as a raſh and unguarded expreſſion, advanced in the warmth of debate, and on the urgency of the occaſion, and which, having once unfortunately pronounced, he was afterwards obliged to defend, to preſerve an appearance of conſiſtency in his political conduct. The aſſertion of Mr. Fox was, however, not made without due deliberation; nor was the oppoſition of Mr. Pitt a ſudden blaze of zeal for the conſtitutional rights of the people, nor did he oppoſe the doctrine from a general principle of democracy. Both of theſe ſtateſmen had their particular and ſpecific object. It was the deſign of Mr. Pitt, who was fortunate at the moment in having a parliament well diſpoſed to his views, to place the authority of the regent under ſuch ſtrict and embarraſſing limitations, as in all probability muſt have rendered the diſmiſſion of himſelf and his colleagues a matter of extreme difficulty to the new government, and muſt at leaſt facilitate their return to power; and as Mr. Fox was, probably, not unappriſed of the intentions of the miniſter, by aſſerting ſtrongly the unqualified ſucceſſion of the Prince of Wales, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that he flattered himſelf with the hope of defeating the project, and, by laying a ſtrong foundation, expected in ſome degree to fortify thoſe arguments which he might find it neceſſary to urge againſt that reſtricted exerciſe of the executive power, which muſt have rendered the government of the Prince weak, if not impermanent.

Whatever

Whatever has the appearance of ſupporting the democratic branch of the conſtitution againſt the claims of prerogative, is always popular, but it is not always the moſt favourable to liberty. To ſuperficial obſervers, it ſeems an extenſion of the people's rights; but it is only by recurring to the firſt principles of government, and of the conſtitution, that its real tendency can be aſcertained. To inveſt the houſes of parliament with the power of regulating the executive department of government, whenever the uſual ſucceſſion, from accidental cauſes, ſuffers any interruption, may appear, at firſt view, only conſiſtent with thoſe enlarged principles of liberty on which the baſis of all legitimate government ought to be conſtructed; but it ſhould not be forgotten, that the ſame reaſoning might be extended to the ſucceſſion in general; and our own experience has proved, that the ſafeſt mode of providing for the executive department of government, is by the direct *hereditary* courſe; and the experience of every other nation, where an elective ſovereignty is eſtabliſhed, has abundantly ſhewn the pernicious effects which reſult from ſo indefinite and capricious an inſtitution.

If hereditary monarchy, therefore, is found ſalutary in the general, why ſhould not the inſtitution extend to every particular caſe? The name or title of the ſupreme magiſtrate, is of little importance, provided he governs according to eſtabliſhed laws, the object of which is the welfare of the people. If further the executive department can be conducted under cloſer reſtrictions than are at preſent eſtabliſhed, will it not follow, that the reſtrictions ſhould be made permanent, and bind the ſovereign as well as the regent? The ſole object of govern-

ment is the welfare and protection of the community; it is only a matter of diſpute, with what prerogatives and powers it is neceſſary to inveſt the firſt officer of the ſtate, in order to enable him to fulfil the functions of his important ſtation, and to carry on, without vexatious interruption, the proper buſineſs of the nation. But if certain privileges and prerogatives are neceſſary in the one caſe, are they not equally ſo in the other? The ſovereign authority is not a property, but an office; to execute that office, certain powers are neceſſary; and whoever exerciſes it, and under whatever name he acts, he ought to be poſſeſſed of thoſe neceſſary powers; and no man, under any title or denomination, ought to be inveſted with more than are neceſſary. Such appears to be the only clear and obvious point of view in which the queſtion of the regency can be placed; and from this view, few men of reflexion will doubt, that for the ſake of public tranquillity, and to fruſtrate the machinations of faction, the ſame rule of ſucceſſion ought to be eſtabliſhed as in the caſe of the demiſe of the crown; and the regent ought to be inveſted with all the neceſſary authorities and powers for the competent tranſacting of the buſineſs of the ſtate.

In this view, the only circumſtance that can create a difference between the regular ſucceſſion to the ſovereignty, and that to the regency, and the only point in the latter caſe to be ſecured, is, that the legal poſſeſſor ſhall not be excluded from a reſumption of his proper authority, whenever the exiſting impediment ſhall be removed. For this, in the inſtance in queſtion, the faith, integrity, and character of the two other branches of the legiſlature, would have been ſolemnly pledged;

on theſe, in every event, the matter muſt have ultimately depended; and theſe appear to have been ſufficient, without any further proviſion.

This ſhort ſtatement will ſerve, in ſome meaſure, to illuſtrate the different opinions ſupported on this ſubject by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt; the former aſſerted that the Prince of Wales had an *abſolute right* to ſucceed to the regency, while the latter admitted only that he had an *irreſiſtible claim:* and from what has been remarked on the particular views of each of theſe great parliamentary leaders, the difference was more than verbal. It will ſerve, at the ſame time, to ſuperſede the neceſſity of entering into a detail of the long and generally unintereſting parliamentary debates, which ſucceeded in both houſes. If the Prince and his party had been more popular, his claim, as of right, to the regency, would probably have been received with more complacency; but as it was evident, from the complexion of both houſes, that ſuch a claim would have been reſiſted to the utmoſt, it was thought adviſeable not to bring the ſubject to a formal deciſion; and on the 15th of December the Duke of York, in the name of his Royal Highneſs, waved the queſtion of right, and deprecated the proceeding to a deciſion on an abſtract political queſtion, while the different parties were ſubſtantially agreed. He was followed to the ſame effect by the Duke of Glouceſter; but ſo confident were the miniſters in their ſucceſs, that, on the ſucceeding day, Mr. Pitt moved three reſolutions, the object of which was to declare, that his Majeſty, being prevented by indiſpoſition from attending to public buſineſs, "it "was the right and duty of the lords ſpiritual and "temporal and commons of Great Britain, to pro-"vide the means of ſupplying the defect of the

"perſonal exerciſe of the royal authority." The motions were oppoſed chiefly upon the principles which have been already ſtated. Mr. Fox obſerved upon the proceedings, that if a foreigner was to inquire, whether the monarchy of Great Britain was hereditary or elective, the obvious anſwer in conſequence of what had now paſſed, muſt be—"That when the King is in good health, the monarchy is hereditary; but when he is ill, and "incapable of exerciſing the ſovereign authority, "it is elective."

Theſe arguments were conſiderably ſtrengthened by an obſervation of Lord North, who remarked, that, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, the legiſlature was evidently incomplete; that therefore no act could be valid; and that the firſt ſtep ought to be, to nominate a regent, and then proceed to enact whatever regulations the exigencies of the times might require: and an additional reaſon againſt the mode of proceeding adopted by Mr. Pitt was, that ſuppoſing the right of nominating lay entirely in the two houſes of parliament, what muſt be the conſequence, if the two houſes ſhould happen to diſagree, concerning the perſon to be appointed regent?

While the parliament was engaged in theſe public conteſts, the two parties were not leſs active in forming their reſpective arrangements in private. It has been aſſerted, that the new miniſtry was at leaſt in part appointed: that the Duke of Portland was nominated the firſt lord of the treaſury; Lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Fox, and Lord Stormont, ſecretaries of ſtate; Lord Loughborough, lord high chancellor; and Earl Spencer, lord lieutenant of Ireland. Some heſitation enſued reſpecting the mode

mode of diſpoſing of Lord Thurlow. It was generally believed that he was well affected to joining with the new adminiſtration, but ſome of the leading members of that party were ſaid ſtrongly to have oppoſed his admiſſion into the cabinet. Other cauſes of diſſatisfaction are ſaid to have preſented themſelves, and to have produced a temporary ſchiſm among the friends of the Prince. No political party that has exiſted in this country, perhaps, ever evinced ſo entire a deficiency of prudence and policy, in all their proceedings, as that which has been denominated the Portland party. We had occaſion to remark this circumſtance in their firſt ſeceſſion from office, in their coalition with Lord North, and in their conduct with reſpect to the St. Alban's meeting. On the occaſion of which we are now treating, a ſimilar want of judgment was manifeſted. It has been aſſerted that the partiality of the Prince to the ſplendid abilities of Mr. Sheridan, wiſhed to ſecure for that gentleman a ſituation where his ſervices might have been employed to the advantage of the nation. Some of the party, however, were ſuſpected of being actuated by a malignant jealouſy of the talents which eclipſed their own; and others, through the weakneſs of ariſtocratical pride, are reported to have vehemently oppoſed the exaltation of a plebeian to the honour of a ſeat in the cabinet council. Mr. Fox, wearied and diſguſted by theſe contentions, is ſaid, by a miniſterial writer, to have "withdrawn from the ſcene, and retired to "Bath," to diſſipate his chagrin, while "the "diſordered ſtate of his health was aſſigned as a "pretext for his ſeceſſion at ſo extraordinary a "juncture." In the mean time, a letter was addreſſed by Mr. Pitt to the Prince of Wales, which

which was dated the 30th of December, and which ſtated, "that it was the opinion of his Majeſty's "confidential ſervants, that his Royal Highneſs "ſhould be empowered to exerciſe the royal "authority, during the illneſs, and in the name of "his father; providing nevertheleſs, that the care "of the King's perſon, with the diſpoſition of his "houſhold, ſhould be committed to the Queen; "and that the power to be exerciſed by the Prince "ſhould not extend to the perſonal property of "his father; to the granting of any office, "reverſion, or penſion, except where the law "abſolutely required it, as in the caſe of the "judges, for any other term than during the "King's pleaſure; nor to the conferring of any "peerage, unleſs upon ſuch perſons of the royal "iſſue as ſhould have attained the age of twenty-"one years."

The anſwer of the Prince of Wales is dated on the 2d of January, 1789, and expreſſes, 1789 with conſiderable force, the ſentiments which he might have been expected to feel upon a ſimilar occaſion. "Reſpecting the ſteps already "taken he was ſilent. No proceeding of the two "houſes of parliament could be a proper ſub-"ject of his animadverſion; but when, previous "to any diſcuſſion in the legiſlature, the outlines "of a ſcheme of government, in which it was "propoſed that he ſhould be perſonally and prin-"cipally concerned, and by which the royal "authority and the public welfare might be deeply "affected, were ſent to him for his conſideration, "it would be unjuſtifiable in him to withhold an "explicit declaration of his ſentiments. His "ſilence might be conſtrued into the previous "approbation of a plan, the accompliſhment of

"which

" which every motive of duty to his father and " ſovereign, as well as of regard for the public " intereſt, obliged him to conſider as injurious to " both. It was with deep regret that the Prince " perceived in the propoſitions of adminiſtration a " project for introducing weakneſs, diſorder and " inſecurity into every branch of political buſineſs; " a project for dividing the royal family from each " other, for ſeparating the court from the ſtate, " and depriving government of its natural and " accuſtomed ſupport; a ſcheme for diſconnecting " the authority to command ſervice, from the " power of animating it by reward, and for allot- " ting to him all the invidious duties of the " kingly ſtation, without the means of ſoftening " them to the public by any one act of grace, " favour, or benignity. His feelings upon the " ſubject were rendered ſtill more painful by " obſerving, that the propoſitions were not founded " in any general principle, but were calculated to " infuſe jealouſies and ſuſpicion, which, he truſted, " were entirely groundleſs, among thoſe whoſe " confidence it would ever be the firſt pride of " his life to merit and obtain.

" The Prince was of opinion that it was an un- " doubted and fundamental principle of the Britiſh " conſtitution, that the powers and prerogatives of the " the crown were veſted there as *a truſt for the benefit* " *of the people*, and that they were ſacred only as " they conduced to preſerve that balance of the " conſtitution, which was the true ſecurity of the " liberty of the ſubject." He therefore obſerved, " that the plea of public utility muſt be ſtrong, " manifeſt, and urgent, that could thus require " the extinction or ſuſpenſion of any one of thoſe " eſſential rights in the ſupreme power, or its

" repre-

"repreſentative, or which could juſtify him in "conſenting, that in his perſon an experiment "ſhould be made, to aſcertain with how ſmall a "portion of kingly power the executive govern-"ment of his country could be conducted. The "Prince declared, that if ſecurity for the King's "repoſſeſſing his rightful government was any "part of the object of this plan, he had only to "be convinced that any meaſure was neceſſary, or "even conducive to that end, to be the moſt for-"ward in its recommendation. If attention to "what it was preſumed might be the King's feel-"ings and wiſhes on the happy day of his reco-"very, was the object, it was with the trueſt "ſincerity the Prince expreſſed his firm conviction, "that no event could be more repugnant to the "feelings of his royal father, than to know, that "the government of his ſon and repreſentative had "exhibited the ſovereign power in a ſtate of de-"gradation, of curtailed authority, and dimi-"niſhed energy; a ſtate, injurious in its practice "to the proſperity of the people, and miſchievous "in its precedent to the ſecurity of the monarch, "and the rights of his family."

At this diſtance of time it is not impoſſible to contemplate with ſome degree of temper and liberality the ſcheme of government propoſed by Mr. Pitt. One of its moſt important features, was the power which the Queen (aſſiſted by a permanent council, nominated by parliament, and doubtleſs to conſiſt chiefly of the members of the preſent adminiſtration) was to poſſeſs, of removing, nominating, and appointing the officers of the royal houſehold. However ſpecious might be the plea for ſuch an arrangement, it is eaſy to perceive that a power would thus have been created, effec-

tually

tually to counteract the operation, and diminish the energy of the new administration. The annual emoluments of the royal household are calculated to amount to at least three hundred thousand pounds, and the officers, in number four hundred, consisting chiefly of the first personages among the aristocracy of the country, must have produced a degree of influence, extremely formidable to a government which was in other respects to have been confined by severe restrictions and limitations. The lords of the household had twice, in the present reign, proved an active instrument in overthrowing the administration of their country. It was therefore not without some reason that the party of the Prince was alarmed at the erection of such a monster in the English government, a counter-ministry, "*imperium in imperio*;" and if the power and influence of Mr. Fox's commissioners for India affairs was held so very formidable as to threaten even the extinction of the royal authority, there surely appeared some reason to apprehend that the exertions of an administration which was not popular, might have been completely frustrated by an arrangement much more immediately connected with the great sources of national influence.

The progress of Mr. Pitt's measures was not impeded by these considerations. It is a part of the English character, always to consider *men*, and not *measures*; and if ever the liberties and constitution of this country should be destroyed, one of the principal means will most certainly be this want of thought and attention to the reasons and principles of political arrangements, and that blind personal attachment in which the people are so apt to indulge. We are far from insinuating

ating that any thing culpable was intended on the occaſion in queſtion; but thus far it is right to obſerve, that the matter ought to have been inveſtigated both by the parliament and the nation in a very different manner from what it was: the Prince and his party, however unpopular, ought to have been entirely diſregarded, as well as their opponents, in a perſonal view; and the only point to be conſidered was, what form of government and adminiſtration was moſt analogous to the Britiſh conſtitution, and what would have been moſt likely to contribute to the welfare of the ſtate.

The reputation which Dr. Willis, a clergyman who kept a lunatic aſylum at Northampton, had acquired in the treatment of inſane perſons, induced her Majeſty to call in his aſſiſtance; and it was ſuppoſed, that from the favourable intimations which he had given with reſpect to the recovery of the King, ſome members of the houſe of commons became deſirous of a re-examination of the phyſicians. In the debate upon this motion, which took place on the 27th of December, much perſonality and undue warmth was introduced on both ſides. The re-examination however was reſolved on; and occupied a ſpace of ſeven days, without furniſhing any thing ſatisfactory with regard to its object.

It was therefore the 16th of January before Mr. Pitt was enabled to open his propoſitions relative to the reſtrictions on the power of the Regent, which were in ſubſtance as follows:—1ſt. That the authority of the Prince Regent ſhould not extend to the creation of peers, except ſuch as were of the royal iſſue, and at the age of twenty-one. 2d, That he ſhould not grant any office,

office, penſion, or ſalary for life, or in reverſion. 3d, That the real and perſonal property of his Majeſty ſhould be ſecured; and that the Prince-Regent ſhould not exerciſe any power or authority over it. 4th, That the perſons attendant on his Majeſty, and the officers of the houſehold in general, ſhould be under the excluſive controul of her Majeſty: and that a council ſhould be named, to aſſiſt the Queen with their advice, whenever ſhe ſhould require it.

The reſolutions expreſſive of theſe limitations being firſt voted by parliament, were moulded into the form of a bill: and it was further propoſed, that the Lord-Chancellor ſhould be empowered to affix the great ſeal to a commiſſion for the purpoſe of giving to it the royal aſſent.

The objections which were urged againſt the reſolutions of Mr. Pitt, and the Regency-Bill, which was founded upon them, have been partly anticipated; and it would be an unprofitable profuſion of time, to enter more minutely into the detail. Towa ds the cloſe of the month, committees were appointed to wait upon the Prince of Wales and the Queen. The Prince, in anſwer, intimated—"That, on the preſent occaſion, his "duty to his father, and his anxious concern for "the ſafety and intereſts of the people, which "muſt be endangered by a longer ſuſpenſion of "the royal authority, outweighed all other con-"ſiderations, and determined him to take upon "him the weighty and important truſt: he added, "that he was ſenſible of the difficulties that muſt "attend the execution of it, in the peculiar cir-"cumſtances in which it was committed to his "charge: but confiding, that the limitations on

"the

" the exercise of the royal authority, deemed ne-
" ceſſary for the preſent, were only approved by
" the two houſes as a *temporary* meaſure, he en-
" tertained the pleaſing hope, that his faithful
" endeavours to preſerve the intereſts of the
" king, his crown, and people, would be ſuc-
" ceſsful."

The anſwer of the Queen ſimply expreſſed her *great obligations to the country*, and intimated her earneſt deſire to diſcharge, to the ſatisfaction of parliament, the anxious and momentous truſt committed to her. She added, that it would be a great conſolation to receive the aid of a council in the diſcharge of a duty, in which the happineſs of her future life was ſo much concerned.

A proteſt was entered about the ſame time on the journals of parliament, ſigned by the Duke of York, at the head of the princes of the blood, and fifty-five other peers, diſapproving utterly of the reſtrictions on the exerciſe of the executive authority; and on the 30th of January, on a motion being made in the houſe of lords for a commiſſion under the great ſeal, for the holding of a parliament, &c. the Duke of York roſe, and objected to his name, or that of the Prince of Wales, being inſerted in the commiſſion, as he deemed the meaſure propoſed, and the whole proceedings in conſequence of it, to be unconſtitutional and illegal. He was followed by the Dukes of Cumberland and Glouceſter, both of whom alſo deſired that their names might be omitted; and the commiſſion was iſſued, with only the names of the great officers of ſtate, and the other perſons uſually inſerted in ſuch inſtruments.

The affair of the regency was one of the firſt opportunities which preſented to the Iriſh parliament,

ment, for exerciſing that independent political power which they had ſo lately recovered; and, to the great ſurpriſe of miniſtry, the meaſures which they adopted were diametrically oppoſite to thoſe purſued by the Britiſh ſenate. The ſeſſion was opened on the 5th of February by the Lord-Lieutenant, the Marquis of Buckingham (late Earl Temple); and an adjournment was moved by the ſecretary, in order, it was apprehended, to prevent the parliament paſſing any reſolutions relative to the regency; but the court was left in a minority of fifty-four; and a motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for proceeding immediately to the buſineſs of a ſupply, was negatived.

On the 11th of February Mr. Connolly moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the Prince of Wales, requeſting him immediately to take upon himſelf the government of that kingdom, as regent, during his Majeſty's incapacity. The motion was ſucceeded by a long and violent debate, but was carried without a diviſion; and on the 16th, a ſimilar reſolution was voted by the upper houſe, and carried by a majority of nineteen: a proteſt, ſigned by ſeventeen lords, was however entered on the journals.

On the 19th, both houſes waited on the Lord-Lieutenant, with their addreſs, and requeſted him to tranſmit the ſame; but, as his lordſhip did not think proper to comply with their requeſt, a competent number of members, ſelected by both houſes, was appointed to wait on the Prince, and votes of cenſure were paſſed on the conduct of the Viceroy.

On the 25th, the commiſſioners from Ireland arrived in London, and the following day waited on his Royal Highneſs; but their friendly inten-

tion was rendered nugatory, by the unexpected recovery of his Majeſty. While the Regency Bill was warmly conteſted in both houſes of the Britiſh parliament, its progreſs was arreſted on the 10th of March, by the Lord Chancellor informing both houſes, the commons, with their ſpeaker, being at the bar of the houſe of lords, that the King had cauſed a commiſſion to be iſſued, authoriſing the commiſſioners, who had been appointed by former letters patent, to hold that parliament; and the commiſſion being read, the chancellor proceeded to acquaint them, that his Majeſty being recovered from his late ſevere indiſpoſition, had commanded him to return his warmeſt acknowledgments for the additional proofs which they had given of their affectionate attachment to his perſon, &c.

The tidings of the King's recovery diffuſed a univerſal torrent of joy throughout the whole nation. A public thankſgiving was very properly appointed; but the manner of its celebration in London could ſcarcely meet the ſerious approbation of men of ſenſe. The parade of a public exhibition was but little conſiſtent with the ſolemnity of the occaſion. To render it ſtill more extraordinary, St. Paul's, inſtead of Weſtminſter-Abbey, (the vicinity of which to the court apparently made it more convenient), was choſen as the place where his Majeſty was to perform his devotions. Both houſes of parliament were formally ſummoned to attend; and even *committees* were appointed to *deliberate on the manner of going* to St. Paul's; as if to ſtamp the whole tranſaction with an air of ridicule, *Saint George's* day was fixed upon for the ſolemnity. The ragamuffin militia of the city, who lined the ſtreets, the unſkilful horſemanſhip of the municipal officers, completed the burleſque, and at once

diſguſted and mortified the ſincere friends of their Sovereign.

After the reſumption of the royal authority, the parliament proceeded as uſual with the ordinary buſineſs of the nation; but the ſeſſion was not fertile in important diſcuſſions. A demand from the ordnance of two hundred and eighteen thouſand pounds, for the purpoſe of fortifying the Weſt-India iſlands, ſerved to excite the ridicule of Mr. Courtenay and Mr. Sheridan, and the ſerious oppoſition of General Burgoyne, and other military men. It was obſerved, that in iſlands which had but few landing-places, fortifications might be uſeful in the beginning of hoſtilities, to prevent ſurpriſe; but this was the caſe with but few of our iſlands; and even where it was the caſe, they might, in the courſe of a war, prove rather of diſadvantage. A hoſtile commander might at any time enforce a capitulation, by threatening to burn the plantations; and having once obtained poſſeſſion, might turn our fortifications againſt ourſelves, as he could not be ſuppoſed to have much regard to the property of the planters. The immenſe number of additional troops which would be required, formed a further objection; and it was urged, that the unhealthineſs of the climate rendered theſe iſlands the graves of the Britiſh ſoldiery. Notwithſtanding theſe arguments, however, the propoſal of the Maſter-General was acceded to without a diviſion.

Oppoſition was more ſucceſsful in another inſtance; and the perſeverance of Mr Fox at length extorted from the Chancellor of the Exchequer his conſent to the repeal of the ſhop-tax. The additional tax and reſtrictions which had been impoſed upon hawkers and pedlars were alſo repealed. Mr. Pitt, however, did not yield with the beſt

grace on this occaſion, ſince he declared, though he conſented to the repeal, that, "as far as argue "ment went, he had heard nothing to induce him "to change his own ſentiments."

On the 8th of May Mr. Beauſoy renewed his motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Teſt Acts, as far as related to the Proteſtant Diſſenters. The arguments employed by the mover of the queſtion were nearly the ſame as before. He was ſupported by Mr. Smith, member for Sudbury, and by Mr. Fox; and oppoſed, upon the old grounds, by Lord North and Mr. Pitt. On a diviſion, there appeared, for the motion one hundred and two, and againſt it one hundred and twenty-two.

Immediately after this debate, the houſe of lords was agitated by a ſimilar queſtion. A bill was introduced by Earl Stanhope, for the repeal of all the penal ſtatutes which had been enacted from the earlieſt periods, upon matters of religion, ſorcery, &c. which, he obſerved, were a diſgrace to our ſtatute-books. The bill was objected to, rather as too general and indiſcriminate, than as being wrong in its principle; and was rejected on the ſecond reading.

Earl Stanhope was not diſcouraged by this defeat from ſhortly after introducing a bill to prevent ſuits in the eccleſiaſtical courts for the recovery of tithes; but it experienced the ſame fate as the preceding.

During the conteſt concerning the regency, the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, Mr. Cornwall, was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs, which terminated fatally on the 2d of January. By the party of Mr. Pitt, the right hon. William Windham Grenville was elected to the chair; but he had not enjoyed his dignity long, before he was called

called to a ſtation of ſtill higher importance; for on the reſignation of Lord Sidney (formerly Mr. T. Townſhend) in the month of June, Mr. Grenville was appointed ſecretary for the home department. The reaſons for this arrangement were ſuppoſed to originate in a coldneſs which had long ſubſiſted between the Lord Chancellor Thurlow and Mr. Pitt, and which had latterly matured into a mutual and confirmed diſlike. As, therefore, the ſupport of the chancellor could not always be commanded, the miniſter conceived it neceſſary that ſome ſpeaker of tolerable fluency and abilities ſhould be always ready to explain and defend the meaſures of the cabinet in the houſe of lords. The vacancy was therefore ſuppoſed to be created, in order to place Mr. Grenville at once in the cabinet, and that houſe; and he was ſhortly after created a peer, by the title of Baron Grenville.

The appointment of Mr. Grenville to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, produced once more a vacancy in the ſpeaker's chair. Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had been before propoſed by the Oppoſition, was again put in nomination; while Mr. Addington, the ſon of a country phyſician, and a friend of Mr. Pitt, was ſupported by the miniſtry. On a diviſion, the numbers appeared, for Mr. Addington two hundred and fifteen, and for Sir Gilbert Elliot one hundred and forty-two.

The ſlave-trade was, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, formally brought under the conſideration of parliament. It will be recollected that, by the reſolutions of the preceding year, the houſe of commons ſtood pledged for an early notice of this important ſubject; but from the peculiar circumſtances of the nation, the diſcuſſion was neceſſarily deferred. The interval, however, was not miſem-

ployed by the friends of the abolition. Innumerable petitions had been preſented from different quarters, and a very voluminous, accurate, and well-digeſted report of evidence from the committee of the privy-council was laid upon the table. Some counter-petitions were alſo preſented from perſons chiefly intereſted in the trade.

On the 12th of May, Mr. Wilberforce, in a moſt eloquent and able ſpeech, introduced a ſeries of reſolutions preliminary to the queſtion of abolition. The argument he arranged under three diviſions. The firſt related to the trade, as it affected Africa itſelf, including the modes in which ſlaves were generally obtained; the ſecond related to the hardſhips which they endured in their tranſportation; and the third regarded their treatment in the Weſt Indies: the whole being founded upon the facts which had been eſtabliſhed in the evidence before the privy council.

From the teſtimony of Mr. Wadſtrom, Captain Hill, Doctor Sparmann, and others, it appeared that the princes and chiefs of Africa never engaged in wars upon any public principle, but merely for the purpoſe of procuring ſlaves; that this wretched continent was kept in a ſtate of continual hoſtility, for the purpoſe of ſupporting that deteſtable traffic; and that it was the ſource of the moſt affecting tragedies both in public and domeſtic life. The practice of kidnapping, it was alſo proved, was almoſt univerſally predominant from the ſame cauſe: and, in a word, every natural tie, every benevolent affection, every principle of virtue was diſſolved in thoſe miſerable and devoted regions, in conſequence of the ſlave-trade.

The horrors which were perpetrated in Africa, were only exceeded by the circumſtances of their tranſ-

tranſportation. So much miſery condenſed in ſo ſmall a compaſs, Mr. Wilberforce remarked, was more than even the human imagination had previouſly conceived. The ſtate of the ſlaves on board the traders had, however, been deſcribed by the witneſſes from Liverpool, as a ſtate of more than Arcadian felicity. "They had ſeveral meals of "pulſe in a day, cooked with the moſt exquiſite "African ſauces; they were perfumed with frank-"incenſe, and their hours were enlivened with "the ſong and the dance." When ſtripped of figurative language, the plain foundation of this glowing deſcription, as extracted from the teſtimony of other *credible* witneſſes, was this—the exquiſite ſauce was hunger, and the pulſe was horſe-beans; with reſpect to the perfumes, Sir George Young and others had declared, that the ſtench of a ſlave ſhip was not to be endured; they danced in fetters, and were compelled to this exerciſe by the muſic of the whip. "I," ſaid one of the witneſſes, "was employed to dance the "men, while another perſon danced the women." While they ſung, they were always obſerved to be in tears; and in the ſame manner in which they were compelled to dance, they were compelled to eat; and inſtruments of torture were even carried out to force them to it. But as a full and deciſive evidence of their miſery, Mr. Wilberforce ſtated, that on an average it appeared, that the deaths on board the ſlave-ſhips amounted to full ſeventeen in the hundred, excluſive of one third more who died in the ſeaſoning.

In ſtating the hardſhips which the negroes endured in the Weſt Indies, Mr. Wilberforce treated the planters with great candour; but he felt himſelf obliged to obſerve, that it was laid down as a

principle in the plantations, that while a conſtant ſupply was to be obtained from Africa, it was the immediate intereſt of the planters to ſubmit their ſlaves to extreme labour, or, in the technical language, "to work them out." It was in vain, therefore to urge, that it would be their future intereſt to ſpare the ſlaves, and to obtain a freſh ſupply by the natural means of propagation; men would be always actuated by a proſpect of preſent gain, in preference to a future intereſt. This cauſe, added to the hardſhips endured in their tranſportation, and the mercurial ointments employed to "make them up for ſale," with the general diſſoluteneſs of manners which was ſuffered to prevail among them, operated effectually to prevent the natural increaſe of population which would otherwiſe take place.

To theſe arguments he added, that inſtead of being, as was pretended by ſome, a nurſery of ſeamen, the ſlave-trade was in reality their grave. This fact was inconteſtably proved from the muſter rolls of all the veſſels which had ſailed in that trade for a ſeries of years, from which it was proved that a greater proportion of our ſeamen died in one year in the ſlave-trade, than in three years in any other department of commerce. Three thouſand one hundred and ſeventy ſeamen ſailed from Liverpool, for the coaſt of Guinea, in 1787, and of theſe only one thouſand four hundred and twenty-eight had returned.

The ſubſtance of Mr. Wilberforce's reſolutions was, That the number of negroes annually exported from Africa for the Britiſh Weſt Indies amounted to thirty-eight thouſand; and that the number which actually arrived there amounted to about twenty-two thouſand five hundred, on an

average

average of four years:—that the ſlaves were of the following deſcriptions; priſoners taken in war; perſons ſold for debt, or for pretended crimes, ſuch as witchcraft, ſorcery, &c. ſlaves ſold by their maſters or relations; and free perſons kidnapped by the princes, by individuals, or by European traders:—that an extenſive commerce might be carried on with Africa, to the great advantage of Great Britain, if the ſlave-trade was aboliſhed:—that the ſlave trade had been found peculiarly injurious to the Britiſh ſeamen:—that a large proportion of negroes was deſtroyed by the cruelties and hardſhips experienced in their tranſportation, and in the Weſt Indies:—and that from comparing well the cauſes which operate to prevent the natural increaſe of the population in the Weſt Indies, it appears that no conſiderable inconvenience could reſult to the planters from the abolition of the ſlave-trade.

The mercantile intereſt is generally too forward in the ſupport of every thing that is baſe and ſordid:—the propoſitions of Mr. Wilberforce were, therefore, moſt warmly combated by the members for London, Liverpool, and the great trading towns; and they were ably defended by Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and all the moſt enlightened and beſt-informed of the commons. Some members inſiſted on the neceſſity of examining evidence; but Mr. Burke gave it as his decided opinion, that no further evidence could be neceſſary to induce the houſe to aboliſh what, he would be bold to ſay, "was a ſyſtem of robbery."

As the ſeſſion was, however, far advanced, the friends of the abolition conſented to an adjournment of the queſtion to the ſucceeding ſeſſion of parliament; and in the mean time a committee was appointed

appointed for the examination of evidence upon the ſubject, and Sir W. Dolben's act for the regulation of the ſlave-trade, was renewed for another year.

A bill which was introduced by Mr. Pitt, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, for transferring the duties on tobacco from the cuſtoms to the exciſe, excited a conſiderable oppoſition among the manufacturers and dealers in that article. The principle of the bill was alſo warmly conteſted in both houſes of parliament, particularly in the houſe of lords, by Viſcount Stormont and Lord Loughborough, but without effect.

In the annual ſtatement of the finances, it appeared, that the income of the country for each of the laſt two years, amounted, on an average, to fifteen millions five hundred and ſeventy-eight thouſand pounds. The ſum total of ſupplies, the chancellor of the exchequer ſtated at five millions ſeven hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, excluſive of the annual account of renewed exchequer bills. From ſeveral circumſtances, however, particularly from the diſcharge of the Prince of Wales's debts, from a large ſum voted to the loyaliſts, and the expence of the armament in the preceding year, Mr. Pitt profeſſed the neceſſity of having recourſe to a loan of one million. The intereſt on this loan he propoſed to diſcharge by a tontine, which he averaged at four and a half per cent. This ſum, added to a deficiency of fifty-ſix thouſand pounds, in conſequence of the repeal of the ſhop-tax, he obſerved, would call for taxes to the amount of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum. To anſwer this, he propoſed adding one halfpenny to the ſtamp duties on news-papers, ſix-pence to each advertiſement; additional duties

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alſo upon cards and dice, upon probates of wills, and upon horſes and carriages.

The ſtatement of the finances rendered by the chancellor of the exchequer, was ſtrongly controverted by Mr. Sheridan, who, on the 10th of July, moved for a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the revenue, in which he pledged himſelf to prove, "That the report of the committee of "1786 was not founded in fact; that for the "three laſt years the expenditure had exceeded the "income to the amount of two millions, and "might be expected to do the ſame for three years "to come; that no progreſs had been *really* made "in the reduction of the national debt; and that "there was no ground for rational expectation, "that any ſuch progreſs ſhould be made, without "a conſiderable increaſe of the annual income, or "a *reduction* of the *expenditure*."

Mr. Sheridan's propoſal was reſiſted by the miniſterial ſide of the houſe, and rejected. A conſiderable part of his arguments were founded upon the extent and nature of the unfunded debt; a ſubject which never appears to have ſufficiently excited the attention of the people, and which, though unknown to many, and diſregarded by moſt, is certainly pregnant with important, if not fatal conſequences.

As a further proof that the national finances were not in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate as they were repreſented by the miniſter, Mr. Sheridan referred to the loan, which was become neceſſary, to repair the dilapidations of the revenue. In a word, he accuſed the chancellor of the exchequer of groſsly deceiving the public on theſe ſubjects; and added, that if the miniſter knew his (Mr. Sheridan's) aſſertions to be *unfounded*, why ſhould he reſiſt

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an inquiry that must terminate in triumph to himself, and overwhelm his adversaries with disgrace?

On the 1st of July, Mr. Dundas entered upon the detail of the finances of India: from this it appeared, that the net revenues of all the Company's possessions, amounted annually to £.1,527,000
and that the import sales amounted to £.321,000
making in the whole —— £.1,848,000

The total of debts owing by the Company in the East Indies, amounted to £.7,604,000, of which £.5,776,000 bore interest to the amount of —— —— 480,700

The net revenue, therefore, applicable to the discharge of this debt, and the purchase of investments, amounted to —— £.1,367,300

This statement was followed, on the same day, by a petition from the Company, praying that they might be permitted to add one million to their capital. The petition was supported by Mr. Dundas, who observed that upon the supposition of a final extinction of their charter, in 1794, their effects in Europe would overbalance their debts by the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand, and their debts in India were to be considered as annexed to the territory, and in the nature of a mortgage on those possessions. A bill was introduced in compliance with the petition, and, except a slight opposition from Lord Thurlow, encountered but little difficulty in its passage through both houses of parliament.

The trial of Mr. Hastings continued to make but a tardy progress. The third charge, respecting the acceptance of presents, was opened by Mr. Burke;

and, in the courſe of his harangue, the honourable manager having occaſion to mention the charge which had been inſtituted on this head againſt Mr. Haſtings, by Nunducomar, with his uſual unguardedneſs of language, added, "that Mr. Haſtings had "murdered that man by the hands of Sir Elijah "Impey." As the tranſaction reſpecting Nunducomar made no part of the charges, Mr. Haſtings thought proper to preſent a petition to the houſe of commons, in which he intreated them, either to cauſe this and ſimilar allegations, made by Mr. Burke, to be proſecuted in diſtinct articles, or to afford him ſuch redreſs as the houſe might judge ſuitable and proper.

The petition was ſtrongly reſiſted by Mr. Burke and his friends; but it received the cordial ſupport of Mr. Pitt, as far as regarded the buſineſs of Nunducomar. A reſolution of cenſure was afterwards moved upon Mr. Burke, by the Marquis of Graham, and voted by a majority of one hundred and thirty-five againſt ſixty-ſix.

Little further progreſs was made in the trial; and this tedious ſeſſion of parliament concluded on the 11th of Auguſt.

The ſummer of 1789 was productive of more important events upon the continent of Europe, than perhaps any period of hiſtory has exhibited ſince the reformation of religion. The ſituation of the Emperor, at the cloſe of the year 1788, afforded one of thoſe moral leſſons ſo mortifying to human grandeur, and which alone ſerve to render the page of hiſtory inſtructive. Profligate in his manners, and inſatiable in his ambition, he appeared gradually to ſink under the oppreſſion of diſeaſe and diſappointment, and retired from a ſcene little adapted to the ſtate of his body, and which afforded him

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but ſmall conſolation of mind. It has been ſarcaſtically remarked, however, that his retreat from the army did not impede its operations; but that his generals, who were men of conſiderable experience and ability, were enabled to proceed with ſuch vigour, that they appeared no longer to command the ſame troops which had ſo repeatedly been baffled and diſgraced.

The veteran field-marſhal Haddick was ſummoned from his retirement to aſſume the command, in the abſence of the Emperor; and Prince Charles de Ligne was appointed to act ſubordinate to him. In a grand council, held at Vienna immediately on the commencement of the year 1789, it was determined to purſue the war in every quarter with increaſed vigour; and notwithſtanding the exhauſted reſources of Auſtria, the moſt formidable preparations were made.

The gallantry diſplayed by the Ottomans in the preceding campaign was not attended with any ſubſtantial advantage; and their ſituation, at this criſis, might be conſidered as deſperate. They had loſt many thouſands of their beſt troops; and their defeat on the Black Sea, and the conſequent loſs of Oczakow, was a blow which they could not recover. Notwithſtanding the deſpotiſm of the Turkiſh government, there is no country where the ſentiments of the metropolis have a more dangerous and tyrannical influence over the national councils. The ill ſucceſs of the war, and the loſs of Oczakow in particular, raiſed a general clamour againſt the Vizier; and had he not been fortunately abſent at the criſis when the public reſentment was at the height, he muſt have been inevitably ſacrificed to the fury of the populace. On his return to the capital, however, he was arreſted

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at ſome diſtance, and ſhortly after ſubmitted to a trial. The whole conduct of this affair was the arrangement of the Sultan: he was, indeed, almoſt the only friend of the miniſter; and the only man in the nation who had the ſenſe to eſtimate properly, through the dark cloud of diſappointment, his merit and abilities. To this prudent conduct the Vizier was probably indebted for his ſafety, as the expectation of the trial ſerved at once to gratify and to ſoften the vengeance of the multitude. He was honourably acquitted; and, we may well conceive, retired from the factious metropolis without regret, once more to aſſume the command of the army.

In the midſt of external embarraſſments, the Ottoman empire experienced a domeſtic misfortune, which may perhaps be accounted among the heavieſt calamities that have attended its declining ſtate. For the ſpace of fifteen years the empire had been, if not renovated, at leaſt retarded in its decline, by the able and vigorous adminiſtration of Achmet the Fourth, a prince who, though educated in the darkneſs of the ſeraglio, yet, by his ſuperior abilities, appeared to give new powers to the government, and almoſt to have eſtabliſhed a new æra in their politics and councils. He was the firſt of the Turkiſh emperors who had the magnanimity to lay aſide that inſupportable arrogance, and that ferociouſneſs of character, which had ſo juſtly rendered his predeceſſors objects of abhorrence to mankind. He was the only prince of the Ottoman race who had ever attempted the cultivation of ſcience and literature. Under his auſpices, the art of printing was introduced into his dominions; and the French Encyclopédie was tranſlated into the Turkiſh language. He was himſelf not only initiated in the oriental ſtudies

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and languages, but was alſo acquainted, though perhaps ſuperficially, with the ſciences and arts of the more civilized nations of Europe. He ſpoke French, Italian and Spaniſh, with fluency, and took a peculiar pleaſure in the ſociety of well-informed foreigners of every nation. He read much, but hiſtory and politics conſtituted his favourite ſtudies. He was often known to lament the imperfections of the Muſſulman government, but had the diſcernment to ſee that the people muſt be enlightened, before any reformation could be effected in it for their advantage. He, however, omitted no means of encouraging ſcience, manufactures, agriculture, and commerce among them; as he conceived theſe to be the only rational means of gradually meliorating their condition. On this account he loved peace, though he evinced that he was not afraid of war; and it has been ſhrewdly remarked, that had he not had the misfortune to live in evil days, and a "bad neighbourhood," the happieſt effects might have been expected from the ſoundneſs of his underſtanding, and his benevolent wiſhes to his people. This excellent prince dropped down dead in the ſtreet on the 7th of April, 1789, at the age of ſixty-four. His death was by ſome attributed to an apoplexy, though it was ſuſpected by others that the agency of poiſon had been reſorted to on this as well as on former occaſions.

Achmet was ſucceeded by his nephew Selim, who was then in his twenty-eighth year, and whom, contrary to the previous cuſtoms of the ſeraglio, he not only had the courage and magnanimity to ſpare, but even to acknowledge publicly as his ſucceſſor. The acceſſion of Selim, however, to the ſovereign authority, only ſerved to evince his inferiority to his predeceſſor. Rapacity and cruelty

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ſullied the opening of his reign. Confiſcations and perſecutions of all the friends and confidents of his uncle diſplayed his ingratitude and impiety in every part of the empire. The great wealth of the grand vizier Juſſuf Pacha, which was eſtimated at a million ſterling, was too powerful a temptation for his avarice to withſtand. The unfortunate miniſter was ſeized at the head of the grand army, at Ruſhchiouſk, conveyed priſoner to Conſtantinople; and, being ſentenced to baniſhment, and the forfeiture of his treaſures, he was aſſaſſinated on his way to the place of his exile, and his head was placed on the walls of the ſeraglio.

Haſſan Pacha, the baſhaw of Widin, was appointed Grand Vizier, and the whole plan of operations was changed. As the Auſtrians were no longer conſidered as the moſt formidable enemy, it was determined, with more ſpirit than prudence, to conduct the war offenſively againſt Ruſſia, and defenſively againſt the Imperial forces. A continued ſtate of hoſtility had raged along the frontiers, on the ſide of Tranſylvania and the Danube, from the expiration of the armiſtice, in 1788; both parties had evinced valour, but no action of importance had enſued. In April and May, however, two very conſiderable victories were gained over the Turks by general Dorfelden, the one on the banks of the river Siret, and the other near Galatz, on the Danube; in the latter of theſe, the Ottomans were ſaid to have loſt one thouſand five hundred men.

The veteran Laudohn, in the mean time, advanced on the ſide of Croatia, to the attack of Turkiſh Gradiſca, which had baffled, in the preceding campaign, the utmoſt efforts of the Auſtrians, and was expected to make a vigorous

reſiſtance. The ſiege commenced on the 20th of June; but, to the ſurpriſe of all military men, and even of the marſhal himſelf, the place was precipitately abandoned by the garriſon, after enduring a bombardment of only two days. This ſucceſs was followed, on the 1ſt of Auguſt, by a ſignal victory obtained by the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, over a Turkiſh Seraſkier, who was poſted at the head of thirty thouſand men, near Fockzan, in Wallachia. The Seraſkier himſelf was taken priſoner, with his principal officers; and five thouſand of his men were either killed or taken, and the whole army diſperſed and ruined.

A ſimilar fate attended the new Vizier himſelf. He had vainly boaſted, that his firſt movement ſhould be the recovery of Oczakow; but he ſoon evinced how incapable he was of accompliſhing his promiſe. On the 22d of September, the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, and General Suwarow, at the head of not more than thirty thouſand men, had the confidence to attack the army of the Vizier, conſiſting of ninety thouſand. The battle was fought on the plains of Martineſti, and the victory was one of the moſt extraordinary that modern hiſtory has to record. The Turks were completely routed; above five thouſand were killed upon the ſpot, and two thouſand in the purſuit; while the loſs of the Auſtrians was eſtimated at leſs than five hundred.

Gradiſca (by the Turks called Berbir) has been generally conſidered as the principal outwork of Belgrade. After the reduction of the former, therefore, Marſhal Laudohn loſt no time in preparing for the ſiege of the latter. He began to break ground before it on the 12th of September; and on the 8th of October, Belgrade, with its

numerous garriſon, ſurrendered. The remainder of the campaign preſented almoſt an unbroken ſucceſſion of advantages to the Auſtrians, though of leſs importance than thoſe which have been related; and, indeed, only one fortreſs was able to reſiſt the rapid tide of their ſucceſs. The garriſon of Orſova diſplayed an heroic firmneſs, and compelled Marſhal Laudohn to raiſe the ſiege on the 12th of December.

The ſucceſſes of the Ruſſians were ſcarcely leſs ſplendid than thoſe of their allies. The grand admiral, Haſſan Bey, who had been (perhaps injudiciouſly) transferred from a naval command to that of an army, was defeated at Toback, in Beſſarabia, after a hard fought battle, by Prince Potemkin; and this engagement decided the fate of Bender, the capital of that province, which ſubmitted to the arms of the Empreſs, about the middle of November.

The efforts of the King of Sweden, in the courſe of this campaign, were feeble and languid, and ſuch as indicated to diſcerning politicians, the change in his politics which was ſhortly to take place; and, except a naval engagement between the Duke of Sudermania and the Prince of Naſſau, on the 24th of Auguſt, in which both parties claimed the victory, no event occurred, in which Sweden was concerned, worthy of being recorded.

The military ſucceſſes of the Emperor were more than counterbalanced, by the civil convulſions which agitated his dominions in Flanders and Brabant. The accommodation which took place in the year 1787, was followed by a fallacious calm, which, to all conſiderate men, only foreboded a wild and deſtructive ſtorm. It was evident that each party ſtill

beheld the other with diſtruſt. The people regarded the promiſes of the Emperor as faithleſs and deluſive; while he ſecretly meditated the renewal of his projects, and the gratification of his revenge.

The firſt ſtep to thoſe objects, on the part of the Emperor, was to remove from the Netherlands the mild and conciliating Count Murray, and to place them under the government of ſuch men as would probably approve themſelves proper engines of deſpotiſm. Count Trautmanſdorf was appointed to the civil government in the character of miniſter plenipotentiary; and the military were placed under the command of General Dalton, an Iriſh adventurer, who, being a ſoldier of fortune, was conſequently without friends or connexions in the country. He was beſides a man of a harſh and ſevere temper, with a large portion of that habitual ferocity which muſt neceſſarily attach to a man who has only been converſant in the arts of devaſtation. Theſe officers had ſcarcely been eſtabliſhed in the adminiſtration of the country, before the reform in the univerſity of Louvain, contrary to the ſolemn engagements of the Emperor, was enforced with all poſſible rigour. The rector and profeſſors were expelled from the univerſity by the point of the bayonet, on the 4th of Auguſt, 1788; and a defenceleſs multitude, who had aſſembled more from curioſity than from a ſeditious intention, were fired upon by the ſoldiers. Above forty men and women were killed upon the ſpot, and double that number were ſent wounded to the hoſpitals.

The horror and conſternation occaſioned by this military execution, with two ſimilar inſtances which occurred at Malines and Antwerp, produced an almoſt inſtantaneous emigration of all the principal inhabitants, who had ever manifeſted the leaſt

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ſymptom of diſcontent at the oppreſſions of Joſeph; while the inſtruments of his vengeance and caprice continued to haraſs thoſe who remained by the moſt arbitrary edicts, by wanton and cruel ſequeſtrations, and by every mode and form of tyranny.

In the mean time the emigrants, who were diſperſed in different parts of Holland, Liege, and other neighbouring ſtates, maintained a ſtrict correſpondence with each other, and formed ſecret preparations for a bold and ſpirited enterpriſe. Their numbers, through the tyranny of the Emperor, daily augmented; and on different parts of the Auſtrian frontiers they attempted from time to time to collect their ſcattered forces, but were conſtantly diſperſed by applications from the court of Vienna to the governments of thoſe countries where they preſumed to ſhew themſelves. Towards the latter end of the year 1789, however, they were enabled to take more effectual meaſures. An army of forty thouſand men, created as by a magical incantation, ſprung up almoſt in an inſtant of time, and the career of their ſucceſs was not leſs wonderful than the promptneſs of their appearance.

As Count Trautmanſdorf had arreſted ſeveral of their friends at Bruſſels, one of the firſt meaſures of the inſurgents was to ſeize the perſon of M. Crumpipen, the chancellor of Brabant, who had been long obnoxious, and whom they detained as an hoſtage. With a rapidity almoſt unexampled, they overran the whole of Auſtrian Flanders. They obtained ſucceſſively the poſſeſſion of Antwerp, of Tournay, and of Ghent, almoſt without oppoſition. A legiſlative council was formed at Breda, where the revolutioniſts proclaimed themſelves "the lawful ſtates of the provinces." The other ſtates of Flanders, Tournay, and Guelderland,

were ſoon after convened, and all of them formally diſclaimed their allegiance to the Houſe of Auſtria. It was in vain that Joſeph held forth to them both threats and conciliation; in vain he offered (when too late, and when they had experienced his perfidy) to reſtore their ancient conſtitution, and even to enrich it with additional privileges. The whole of the Auſtrian Netherlands, the citadel of Antwerp, and a few ſtrong places excepted, was before the cloſe of the year in the hands of the patriots. On the 22d of December, the ſtates of Brabant, in concert with deputies from the other ſtates, proceeded to the appointment of a miniſtry. M. Henry Vandernoot, a popular advocate, who had been from the firſt among the moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders of the party in oppoſition to the Emperor, was named prime miniſter; M. Van Euren, grand penitentiary of the cathedral of Antwerp, was appointed ſecretary of ſtate; the Baron D'Hore, commiſſary general for the war department; and General Vandermerſch, who had evinced great military abilities in ſeveral actions with the Auſtrians, was nominated commander in chief of the forces of the new republic. Envoys were diſpatched about the ſame time to the different courts of Europe; and the ſtates aſſumed all the prerogatives and functions of ſovereign authority.

The termination of this revolution, from which great expectations were prematurely formed, exceeds the limits neceſſarily preſcribed to this volume. Let it ſuffice at preſent to add, that the popular government in Belgia endured for little more than a year; that ill-concerted meaſures, chiefly reſulting from the bigotry of the eccleſiaſtics, and the pride of the nobleſſe; party diſſenſions, and the influence of bribes, diſtributed to the leading patriots; the treachery of thoſe foreign powers who had

had encouraged their revolt, but who deſerted them in the criſis of urgent neceſſity; the powerful force, which Auſtria, after the termination of the Turkiſh war was enabled to lead againſt the inſurgents; added to the moderate propoſals of Leopold, the ſucceſſor of Joſeph; ſoon effected the diſſolution of the new commonwealth, and once more reduced the revolted provinces under the dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria.

Such was the abortive effort of the friends of liberty in the Belgic provinces. The revolution which was effected in France, was more important in its nature, and more permanent and ſtupendous in its conſequences. The eyes of Europe had been long directed to the involved ſtate of public affairs in that kingdom, and the aſſembling of the States General was expected with unuſual impatience. The 5th of May, 1789, whatever may be the ultimate fate of the French revolution, will be long memorable in the annals of Europe. On that day the aſſembly of the States General was opened at Verſailles, by the King in perſon, who in a ſhort ſpeech intimated his ſatisfaction at finding himſelf ſurrounded on this occaſion by the repreſentatives of his people. He enumerated briefly the principal objects of their aſſembling—lamented the oppreſſive burden of the national debt, part of which had accumulated in his own reign, "but in an honour-"able cauſe"—recommended to them moderation and temper, and profeſſed his ſincere deſire to co-operate in every meaſure that might be ſuggeſted for the welfare of the community. He was followed by M. Barretin, the keeper of the ſeals, whoſe ſpeech was ſcarcely heard, and excited but little curioſity or attention; and by M. Neckar, whoſe oration, though it was heard with avidity, yet diſappointed the more violent ſpirits,

by the guarded terms in which he expreſſed himſelf, and the tone of moderation which he aſſumed.

The grand queſtion, concerning the manner of voting by orders or by poll, was the firſt to agitate the aſſembly, and was even introduced on the firſt meeting, for the *verification of their powers*, or, in other words, the identification of the deputies, which is equivalent to our members of parliament taking their ſeats. The deputies of the privileged orders inſiſted on the performance of this ceremony in their ſeparate chambers, while thoſe of the *tiers état* aſſerted the neceſſity and propriety of its taking place in the common hall. The argument of the nobility was, that none but themſelves could judge of the legality of claims affecting their own order; and in anſwer it was urged, that the election had been ſanctioned by the three orders of each bailiwick, and the oaths adminiſtered in their preſence. Each party, however, continued firm to its purpoſe. In the chamber of the nobility, the queſtion was determined againſt the verification of the powers in common, by one hundred and eighty-eight votes, againſt forty-ſeven. The clergy were more moderate, and deſired the reconciliation of the contending parties; and the *tiers état* were almoſt unanimous in oppoſing any arrangement that might lead to the voting by orders, and not by poll.

By the tumultuous agitation of this queſtion, the public affairs continued in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe for nearly five weeks. On the 10th of June, the Abbé Sieyes, who had been choſen a deputy of the *tiers état*, propoſed to that body to emerge, by one great effort, from their ſtate of inaction.

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They formed themſelves into twenty committees, to facilitate the different branches of the public buſineſs, which were to come under their conſideration; and on the 12th diſpatched a notice to the other orders, that on the following day they would proceed to a general call of the deputies from the different bailiwicks, including thoſe of the privileged claſſes, and, in default of their appearance, would form themſelves into an active aſſembly.

On the 13th, in purſuance of this reſolution, the *tiers état* proceeded to a call of the deputies, and the verification of the returns. Not one of the nobility appeared; but on a call of the bailiwick of Poictou, three country clergymen, Meſſrs. Ceſve, Ballard, and Jalot, preſented themſelves, and laid the writs of their return upon the table. They were followed on the ſucceeding day by five more of the clergy; and on the 17th the deputies of the people took the bold and deciſive ſtep of aſſuming the legiſlative authority. In the midſt of applauding multitudes, they announced themſelves on that day to the public by the ſince celebrated denomination of the *National Aſſembly*. This ceremony was ſucceeded by the adminiſtration of the oath, to be faithful in fulfilling their duty, and by the nomination of M. Bailly to the office of preſident for four days only, and that of M.M. Camus and Piſon de Galand, as ſecretaries.

The firſt reſolution of the aſſembly pronounced, that all levies, taxes or impoſts, which were not ſanctioned by the repreſentatives of the people, were illegal; that, conſequently, the exiſting taxes all came under this deſcription; but that they, in the name of the nation, gave them a temporary ſanction; and that they were to continue to be

levied

levied only till the ſeparation of the aſſembly, from whatever cauſe that event might take place. They declared alſo their intention of taking, at a future period, into formal conſideration, the national debt, placing, however, the creditors of the nation, from that moment, under the ſafeguard of the honour and faith of the French nation.

In the mean time, the chamber of the nobles was agitated by external fears, and by internal diſcord. A party of about fifty members, at the head of which was the Duke of Orleans, contended for the neceſſity of acceding to the wiſhes of the commons; but the great majority appeared inflexible. The chamber of the clergy were at firſt equally divided, though the *curés*, or pariſh miniſters, were in general diſpoſed to the democratic ſide. On the 19th of June, however, a majority voted for the verification of their powers, in common with the national aſſembly; and ſuch was the alarm of the ariſtocratic party on this occaſion, that it has been confidently reported, that M. D'Eſpremenil, who was now transformed into a violent adherent of the court, propoſed in the chamber of the nobility, an addreſs to his Majeſty, urging the diſſolution of the States General.

The boldneſs and pertinacity of the *tiers état*, their increaſing popularity, the defection of the clergy, and the determination viſible in the people, and particularly the Pariſians, to aſſert their rights, ſeem to have produced an alarm, which extended even to the royal breaſt itſelf; and a ſeries of meaſures, the moſt imprudent that ever were deviſed, and characteriſtic of the weakneſs and inconſtancy of the court, were immediately concluded on. A ſcarcity of proviſions had, for

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ſome time pervaded the kingdom, and had affected the metropolis in a peculiar manner; this, and the turbulent ſpirit which began to be manifeſted, afforded a reaſon or an excuſe for the iſſuing of ſecret orders to command the advance of a large body of troops to the capital; and there was reaſon to apprehend that the diſſolution of the ſtates general was meditated, or, at leaſt, that the long-expected aſſembling of that body would end in nothing but a ſolemn farce, without effecting a ſingle purpoſe beneficial to the people.

The abſence of M. Neckar, whoſe attendance at this period was devoted to a dying ſiſter, afforded an opportunity to the court to take its meaſures, without conſulting that popular miniſter. On the 20th of June, therefore, the day on which the clergy were to form a union with the national aſſembly, the heralds proclaimed what they called a royal ſeſſion. A detachment of guards ſurrounded the hall of the ſtates general, in order that it might be properly prepared for the reception of the King. The preſident and the members, who came to take their ſeats, were rudely repulſed. The preſident M. Bailly, proteſted againſt the proceedings; and, on his motion, the aſſembly adjourned to a tennis-court in the neighbourhood, where they bound themſelves, by a ſolemn oath, never to ſeparate, till a free conſtitution ſhould be eſtabliſhed for France.

On the 22d, after wandering about for ſome time, the aſſembly took ſhelter in the church of St. Louis, where they were joined by the majority of the clergy, and by two nobles of Dauphiné. The royal ſeſſion took place on the ſucceeding day. Whether it aroſe from accident, or whether

or whether it was meant as a ſtudied inſult, is uncertain; but the *tiers état* were left a conſiderable time without the gate, expoſed to the rain, while the privileged orders were admitted; every appearance of pomp was adopted on the occaſion; and the abſence of M. Neckar from among the miniſters, was conſidered as one of the moſt unfavourable omens to the popular cauſe.

The ſpeech of the King was ſcarcely more judicious. It was in the mandatory ſtyle of the old addreſſes to the parliaments in the beds of juſtice: in the projected arrangements, the King propoſed to continue (with ſome modification only) the odious tyranny of *lettres-de-cachet*; he declared null and void the deliberations and reſolves of the 17th, and ordered the deputies to ſeparate, and to appear before him the following day.

The King was followed, on retiring, by the majority of the privileged orders, while thoſe of the *tiers état* remained motionleſs on the benches. The grand maſter of the ceremonies entered the hall, and addreſſing the preſident, demanded in an authoritative tone, if he had heard the orders of the King? The preſident replied in few words, That he conceived the aſſembly was not conſtituted to receive orders from any perſon whatever. But the Count de Mirabeau, who had been returned a deputy of the *tiers état*, riſing from his ſeat, replied to the grand maſter, with that impetuous eloquence which formed a diſtinguiſhing part of his character:—"The commons of France have "determined to deliberate. We have heard the "intentions which have been ſuggeſted by the "King; and you, who cannot be his agent at the "ſtates general---you, who have here neither ſeat

"nor

" nor voice, are not the perſon to remind us of his " ſpeech. Go, tell your maſter, that we are here " by the power of the people, and nothing ſhall " expel us but the bayonet." A unanimous exclamation, that ſuch was their determination, ſucceeded. A reſolution was paſſed, on the motion of M. Camus, declaring that the aſſembly adhered to their former decrees, which they aſſerted no authority could annull; and it was followed by another, pronouncing the perſons of the deputies ſacred and inviolable.

On the following day, the minority of the nobles, with ſeveral of the ſuperior clergy, joined the national aſſembly; and on the 27th, the King ſent a preſſing letter to the nobility and the minority of the clergy, intreating the union of the orders. The royal recommendation was obeyed without heſitation by the clergy, and with ſome reluctance by the nobility. The union, however, produced a general joy, and was celebrated both at Paris and Verſailles by a grand illumination.

Whether the King was ſincere in this meaſure, or whether it is to be conſidered as an artifice to cover the grand arrangements which were made for the forcible diſſolution of the ſtates, is a point which, probably, will not be ſpeedily aſcertained. It was, however, not without alarm, that the popular party beheld the metropolis ſurrounded by an army of thirty-five thouſand men, under the command of the veteran Broglio; camps traced out for a ſtill greater number; every poſt that commanded the city occupied with troops, and lines of fortification drawn on every eminence. The wakeful jealouſy of Mirabeau did not overlook the danger to which the cauſe which he favoured was expoſed; and on the 10th of July, a remonſtrance to the King

King was voted on his motion, preſſing the removal of his troops from the vicinity of Paris, in the moſt urgent and energetic terms.

A mutual ſuſpicion of each other appears to have been entertained by the King and the aſſembly. The reply of Louis to the remonſtrance, was guarded and cold. He alleged the tumultuous ſtate of the metropolis, as a reaſon for having ſurrounded it with troops; but diſclaimed every intention of interrupting the freedom of the aſſembly's deliberations; and added, if the preſence of the ſoldiery gave umbrage, he was ready to transfer the ſtates general to Noyon or Soiſſons, and to repair himſelf to ſome place in its vicinity, where he could maintain a ready communication with the legiſlative body. It would, perhaps, have been fortunate for the liberties of France, if the aſſembly had acceded to the arrangement of the King; but the popular party were at that moment more ſuſpicious of the deſigns of the court, than of the factions of Paris, and reprobated the propoſal.

Neither party were indeed at this time aware of the real ſtate of the country, or of the prevalence of the ſentiments of liberty. The popular leaders evidently looked for ſupport only from the citizens of Paris, and conceived that if they were to be removed from the vicinity of that city, their cauſe would be undone; the court party flattered themſelves alſo, that, by overawing that ſeat of ſedition, they would effectually deſtroy their opponents in the aſſembly, and that the ſoldiery would be found as paſſive inſtruments in the hands of deſpotiſm, as on former occaſions. The event proved, that the love of liberty had pervaded the whole nation; and afforded a ſtriking leſſon to monarchs,

monarchs, againſt the fond deluſion of depending on a military force to act, on all occaſions, againſt the wiſhes and the welfare of the people.

However candour may diſpoſe us to judge favourably of the unfortunate Louis, it is impoſſible to obſerve the proceedings of the court, at this period, and to doubt that ſome deſign, hoſtile to the naſcent liberties of France, was in agitation. The troops which were aſſembled under M. Broglio, already amounted to upwards of forty thouſand men; the utmoſt ſecrecy was obſerved by the court; but the moſt unequivocal proof of ſuch a deſign, was the haſty diſmiſſion and baniſhment of M. Neckar, on the 11th of July, and the formation of a new miniſtry, which conſiſted of Marſhal Broglio, as miniſter of war; the Baron de Breteuil, preſident of finance; M. Foulon, a man uncommonly unpopular, intendant of the navy; and men of the ſame deſcription in the other departments of office.

The preſence of ſo immenſe a body of troops, the new miniſtry conceived, would ſufficiently overawe the capital, or at leaſt repreſs every hoſtile movement; but in this they were diſappointed.

The baniſhment of M. Neckar was the ſignal in Paris for general diſcontent. The news was, however, not credited at the firſt; but it was no ſooner confirmed, than the populace repaired in a body to the warehouſe of a ſtatuary, and ſeizing forcibly the buſts of M. Neckar and the Duke of Orleans, they carried them in mourning through the ſtreets. The raſhneſs of the Prince de Lambeſq, who advancing with a party of horſe, to take poſt at the Tuilleries, wounded with his ſabre an old and defenceleſs man, who was walking peaceably in the garden, increaſed the tumult, and accelerated

accelerated the general inſurrection of the people. Theſe events took place on the 12th of July; and the horrors of that night to the peaceful part of the citizens, may be better imagined than deſcribed. The morning of the 13th did not ſerve to releaſe them from their apprehenſions. The diſordered ſtate of the public affairs ſerved to ſet looſe thoſe bands of deſperate ruffians, who always infeſt a populous city; and the danger to be apprehended from them, afforded a motive or an excuſe for inſtituting ſomething like a regular enrolment for the defence of their perſons and property. The alarm bells ſounded, the inhabitants of Paris aſſembled at the Hotel de Ville. Sixty-thouſand citizens were ſoon enrolled and marſhalled under different commanders. The French are a nation of ſoldiers, and moſt of them are ſkilled, in ſome degree, in the different branches of knowledge that relate to the art of war. Theſe movements were ſoon directed by the popular leaders to the oppoſition of the ſoldiery, who beſieged the city. Entrenchments were thrown up, and barricadoes formed in different parts of the ſuburbs. A permanent council, or committee, was appointed to ſit, night and day, at the Hotel de Ville; and a communication was eſtabliſhed between this body and the national aſſembly.

In the midſt of the alarms which muſt be produced by ſuch a ſtate of affairs, the aſſembly preſerved at leaſt an appearance of tranquillity, and continued to proſecute the order of the day, which was the framing of a declaration of rights. The diſmiſſion of M. Neckar, however, called for ſome active meaſures. They remonſtrated with the King on the convulſed ſtate of the metropolis, and once more intreated, that he would order the removal

removal of the troops. The King was inflexible in his reſolution; and his anſwer was ſo little ſatisfactory, that it was thought neceſſary to reſolve "that "M. Neckar, and the reſt of the late miniſtry, carried with them the confidence and the regret of "the aſſembly," and that "the preſent miniſters "and counſellors of his majeſty were perſonally "reſponſible for the impending calamities."

The French guards had been previouſly prepared by the patriotic party for the apprehended hoſtilities. They had imbibed deeply the principles of democracy, and, on the firſt embodying of the people, had ſpontaneouſly enrolled themſelves with the citizens, and contributed both arms and experience to the popular cauſe. A further ſupply of arms was obtained from the *Hôtel des Invalides*, which had been put in a poſture of defence, but was taken by ſurpriſe by a party of the people; and even the repoſitory of ancient arms, the *Garde-Meuble*, was forced open, and its contents diſtributed among the new militia.

The Baſtille, however, was known to be the moſt copious magazine of military accoutrements, and there were many reaſons which rendered it deſirable to effect its reduction; yet we have no evidence of a concerted plan, on the part of the citizens, to attack the fortreſs. Like the *Hôtel des Invalides*, it had been put in a ſtate of defence; but the deſigns of the court were evidently anticipated by the people, and had not time to mature. It was ſupplied with every neceſſary for a ſiege, but a large ſtock of proviſions; and this circumſtance might not be unknown to the democratic leaders. Be this as it may, hopes were evidently entertained by them of being able to negociate

with the Marquis de Launay, the governor, or of obtaining poſſeſſion of the fortreſs by ſtratagem.

On the morning of the 14th, ſeveral deputations from the committee at the *Hôtel de Ville* waited on M. de Launay, to requeſt a ſupply of arms, and to negociate a friendly correſpondence. They were received by the governor with civility; and he gave them, it is ſaid, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his amicable intentions. Among other applications of the ſame nature, a mixed multitude, about the hour of eleven, appeared before the gates, demanding arms and ammunition. The firſt draw-bridge was lowered to admit them; but they had ſcarcely entered the firſt court, when the bridge was again drawn up, and they were aſſailed by a general diſcharge of muſketry, and the majority of them put to death.

The truth of this fact has been aſſerted by ſo many authentic teſtimonies, and by the ariſtocratic writers themſelves, that it is impoſſible to doubt it, though ſome of the wretched party writers in this country have, without a particle of evidence to allege, affected to diſpute it. While we admit this ſtatement, however, it is but fair to obſerve, that the explanation of the fact which is given by the ariſtocratic party, bears the ſtrongeſt marks of probability. Neither the character of M. de Launay, nor his preceding conduct on this occaſion, warrant us in imputing to him the deliberate intention of wantonly alluring a defenceleſs multitude to their deſtruction. It is probable, therefore, that the maſſacre of the people originated from ſome miſtake. The conduct of the populace was not likely to be the moſt temperate and orderly, and the preſs of numbers

might be ſuch as to render it prudent in the governor to order the drawing up of the bridge; and this by ſome of the ſoldiers or ſubaltern officers, might be miſconſtrued into a ſignal to fire upon the people.

Perhaps another explanation may be given of the tranſaction. The multitude which were ſacrificed on this occaſion might have been admitted by the governor, under a ſuppoſition that they accompanied one of thoſe deputations from the *Hôtel de Ville*, which he had been in the cuſtom of receiving; and poſſibly, on diſcovering his miſtake, and finding it impoſſible to perſuade them to diſperſe, the draw-bridge might have been ſuddenly drawn up, and the ſoldiers might have diſcharged their pieces, with or without orders from their commanders.

Whatever were the circumſtances or the cauſe of this tranſaction, its conſequences were fatal to M. de Launay. The paſſions of the populace were inflamed into phrenzy, and a reſolution was taken on the ſpot, of which they did not previouſly appear to have entertained the moſt diſtant idea, to ſtorm the fortreſs. The force within conſiſted chiefly of foreign ſoldiers, a party of artillery, and a corps of invalids. With this force, which was not on the whole very conſiderable, the ſtrength of the fortreſs enabled M. de Launay to withſtand the impetuoſity of the people, and a well-directed fire from ſeveral pieces of artillery under the direction of the French guards, for more than two hours. It is to be lamented that the governor did not take meaſures for a capitulation till it was too late; but it is aſſerted that he was reſtrained, in this inſtance, againſt his own inclination and judgment, by poſitive orders from the court, and

by deluſive promiſes of a reinforcement. The white flag was indeed at laſt diſplayed, but it was diſplayed in vain; and M. de Launay, when all appeared to be loſt, is ſaid to have attempted to blow up the fortreſs, but was prevented by ſome of the inferior officers.

When the beſiegers entered, the invalids piled their arms, and the firſt moments of the meeting between the garriſon and the people paſſed in reconciliation and cordiality. Unfortunately the ſoldiers on the platforms, unconſcious of what was paſſing in the court below, continued to fire upon the populace, who ſuſpecting another act of perfidy, with that intemperate rage which has ſo unhappily characterized them, ſeized two of the invalids, and dragging to the *Greve*, the common place of execution, hanged them by the ropes from which the lamps were ſuſpended.

M. de Launay was alſo ſacrificed to the fury of the populace; and M. de Loſme Salbrai, the major of the Baſtille, a gentleman diſtinguiſhed for his humanity and good qualities, participated in his fate. The heads of theſe unfortunate officers were ſtruck off, and, being fixed on pikes, were carried in ſavage triumph through the ſtreets of Paris.

The *Prévot de marchands*, or mayor of Paris, M. de Fleſſelles, was involved in the fate of M. de Launay. Some traces of a correſpondence were diſcovered, in which he propoſed to amuſe the Pariſians "with cockades and promiſes," till the foreign troops might advance with ſecurity to ſeize the city; he was therefore ſuſpended from his office by the permanent committee, and committed for trial; but as he deſcended the ſtairs of the *Hôtel de Ville*, he was ſhot by ſome of the inſurgents,

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and his head being fixed upon a pike, was carried through the ſtreets with that of M. de Launay.

In the priſons of the Baſtille only ſeven priſoners were found; and of theſe, three were miſerable ſpectacles, and had entirely loſt their reaſon (a common effect of long and ſolitary confinement), having been inhabitants of thoſe caverns of deſpotiſm, as ſtate-priſoners, from the reign of Louis XV.

The firſt news of the capture of the Baſtille was regarded at Verſailles as a fiction of the democratic party; but it was ſoon irreſiſtibly confirmed. The firſt reſolves of the miniſtry are ſaid to have been deſperate; and Marſhal Broglio was ordered to proceed with vigour in the reduction of Paris; but his anſwer was, that he could not depend upon his ſoldiers. The King, in the mean time, was kept in the moſt profound ignorance of all that had paſſed. At midnight, the Duke de Liancourt, who was maſter of the wardrobe, forced his way into his Majeſty's apartment, and informed him of the whole. Early in the morning, therefore, the King thought it neceſſary to repair to the national aſſembly, without guards, and deſpoiled of all the pomp of royalty. He diſavowed every intention of perſonal injury to the deputies; and concluded by aſſuring them, that he had already ordered the removal of the troops from the vicinity of the metropolis.

The return of peace in Paris, and the diſperſion of the ſoldiery, was ſucceeded by a laudable attempt to reſtore order and government. The office and title of *prévot de marchands* was aboliſhed, and the more ancient dignity of mayor of Paris was reſtored; and to this office M. Bailly, who had been preſident of the *tiers état*, was called, by the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens. The

Marquis de la Fayette was appointed commander in chief of the armed citizens, who now aſſumed the denomination of the national guard.

A deputation of eighty-four members of the national aſſembly was diſpatched to Paris on the morning of the 15th, with a view of aſſiſting in the reſtoration of tranquillity and order to that city. At the *Hôtel de Ville*, the Marquis de la Fayette, Count Lally Tolendal, the Marquis Clermont-Tonnère, the Duke de Liancourt, and the Archbiſhop of Paris, addreſſed the people. From this place they adjourned to the church of Notre-Dame, where the triumph of liberty was celebrated by a ſolemn *Te Deum*. Whether it was the ſpontaneous movement of the populace, or the dictate of their leaders, is uncertain; but, if the latter, it is not eaſy to ſee the object of it, unleſs we credit the monſtrous fiction which the credulity of Engliſhmen has made popular here, that the whole revolution was the plot of the Duke of Orleans: but, whatever was the motive, the general voice required that the King ſhould perſonally viſit the metropolis; to this, another demand was added, which it was eaſy to ſee, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, muſt be complied with, the reſtoration of the popular miniſters.

To enforce this latter requeſt, a deputation from the city was ſent, on the 16th, to the national aſſembly; and after a debate, which turned chiefly upon the delicacy of interfering with the arrangements of the executive power, the aſſembly was on the point of voting an addreſs to the King, when they were informed, that the miniſters, by their reſignation, had anticipated the wiſhes of the people. A letter was immediately diſpatched from the King to M. Neckar, preſſing his return; and

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his Majeſty, at the ſame time, intimated to the aſſembly his intention of viſiting Paris.

After paſſing a night of ſuſpence and agitation, the King left Verſailles on the morning of the 17th, accompanied by a part of the national aſſembly, and eſcorted by the militia of Verſailles. At the *barrière des conférences* he was met by M. Bailly, the newly-elected mayor, who, on preſenting to his Majeſty the keys of the city, accompanied the ceremony with an addreſs, which has excited the implacable vengeance of the princes of Europe:—"Theſe, Sir," ſaid he, "are the keys which "were preſented to Henry IV. He came to re-"conquer his people; it is our happineſs to have "reconquered our king."—To a critical ear the forced antitheſis of the addreſs will be more offenſive than any ſentiment it contains: it was evidently a compliment to the King, whom the words of M. Bailly ſuppoſed incapable of projecting any thing contrary to the welfare of the people, but inſinuated only, that by reſcuing him from thoſe miſcreants by which he was ſurrounded in a corrupt court, the union between the king and people was rendered complete and indiſſoluble.

The royal viſit to the metropolis was not productive of any of thoſe dreadful conſequences which the fears or the diſaffection of courtiers had anticipated, and ended in one of thoſe innocent and uſeleſs pieces of parade ſo acceptable to the populace of all nations, and which was probably the ſole object of thoſe who were moſt clamorous for it. He confirmed the election of M. Bailly and the Marquis de la Fayette, and placed the national cockade in his hat. In the mean time, the obnoxious miniſtry, and their adherents, had completely diſperſed. The Marſhal Broglio, abandoning his army to their fate, retired preci-

pitately to Luxemburgh. The Count d'Artois, and his family, departed in diſguiſe during the ſtillneſs of the night; and he was followed by the Prince of Condé, and his ſon the Duke of Bourbon. The Prince of Conti, one of the moſt reſpectable of the royal blood, thought it not ſafe to remain, though he ſoon after returned; and happy would it have been for France, and for Louis, if all the nobility of France had followed his example, inſtead of abandoning their country in the pernicious deſign of exciting foreign enemies, and forming impracticable plans for a counter-revolution.

The Ducheſs of Polignac, the favourite of the Queen, eſcaped in the habit of a waiting-woman; and after a ſeries of adventures, which perhaps might compare with the legends of romance, had the ſingular fortune to encounter M. Neckar, at Baſle, in Switzerland, and was the firſt to inform him of the revolution. But of all who were connected with the court, none was more odious than M. Foulon. By lucrative contracts, and by all the criminal practices which too commonly diſgrace the monied intereſt of moſt countries, he had riſen from a very low ſituation to the poſſeſſion of immenſe riches; and, with all the unfeeling temper of a contractor, he indulged himſelf in the inhuman maxim—"That a country would be "the beſt governed, where the common people "ſhould be compelled to feed upon graſs."—This unfortunate gentleman had, on the firſt appearance of a ſerious inſurrection in Paris, withdrawn from public, and cauſed a report to be induſtriouſly ſpread of his death, and even an expenſive funeral to be performed over his ſuppoſed remains. Among his own vaſſals in the country he flattered himſelf he would be in ſafety; but his character commanded the eſteem of no man. He

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was ſeized even by his own dependants, and on the 22d of July was brought to Paris, with a bundle of hay upon his back, in alluſion to his own unfeeling expreſſions. The committee at the *Hôtel de Ville* determined to ſend him for ſecurity to the priſon of the Abbey of St. Germain; but, in oppoſition to the moſt laudable efforts of M. La Fayette and M. Bailly, he was ſeized by the ferocious populace, dragged to the Place de Greve, and executed in that ſummary manner which in ſo many inſtances has diſgraced the cauſe of liberty in France. His ſon-in-law, M. Berthier, who had exerciſed the unpopular office of intendant of police, having been ſeized nearly about the ſame period, on being brought to Paris, was accoſted with the bloody head of his father-in-law, and preſently experienced a ſimilar fate. The Marquis de la Fayette was ſo diſguſted by theſe inſtances of ferocity, and this contempt of all authority, that he reſigned his office, and was with the utmoſt difficulty perſuaded to reſume it.

The Baron de Bezenval, commandant of the Swiſs guards, who acted under M. Broglio, and who had alſo fled on the taking of the Baſtille, was more fortunate than M. Foulon. He was arreſted at Villenaux; and M. Neckar, on his return through that place, interceded with the municipality in his favour, but in vain. The account of his arreſt, however, being tranſmitted to the committee at the Hotel-de-Ville, they diſpatched a courier to prevent his being brought to Paris, where a banditti of thirty thouſand waited for him, with a rope and a gallows, prepared to renew the horrid ſcene which had ſo lately been acted. The Baron was conducted, for the preſent, to the priſon of Brie-Compte Robert; and was

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afterwards, on a full inveſtigation of his conduct before the Châtelet, honourably acquitted.

The progreſs of M. Neckar through France, on his return to reſume his functions, is deſcribed by the hiſtorians of the revolution, as a triumph. He was received at Paris with illuminations, and every demonſtration of joy. At his recommendation a general amneſty was decreed by the electors of Paris; but as the authority and functions of that body had really terminated in the return of the deputies to the ſtates, this act of authority was conſidered as an uſurpation, and a very ſerious riot was apprehended. The electoral aſſembly had the diſcretion to revoke their own act, which they requeſted might be conſidered only in the light of a recommendation: they diſſolved themſelves at the ſame time, adding, that nothing but the neceſſity there was, that ſome public body ſhould exerciſe the municipal functions during the ſuſpenſion of the conſtituted authorities, ſhould have prevented their previous reſignation.

The diſſolution of all legal government in the provinces, which was the immediate conſequence of this violent revolution in the government, was productive of ſome ſerious diſorders, and of ſeveral acts of atrocity; but there is not the ſmalleſt foundation for what ſome writers, who aſſert at random, have ſeriouſly ſtated, that "the nobi-"lity were hunted down like wild beaſts." The truth is, that thoſe who were obnoxious to the people, either from the offices which they had exerciſed, or from their private characters, ſuffered, ſeveral in their property, and a few in their perſons. As, however, it was thought expedient, to take ſome effectual meaſures to prevent outrages and injuſtice, the committee of reports propoſed to the aſſembly, on the 4th of Auguſt, that a declaration

ration ſhould be immediately publiſhed, exhorting the people to order and ſubmiſſion, and ſtating that, till the new conſtitution ſhould be eſtabliſhed, there exiſted no motive to juſtify the non-payment of rents and taxes.

On this occaſion, the Viſcount de Noailles roſe, as he ſaid, to propoſe the only effectual mode of eſtabliſhing peace and order.—"The "people," added he, "have riſen to reclaim "their rights, and we perſiſt in withholding them." He propoſed, therefore, the equalization of the taxes, and the abolition of the feudal uſurpations: the motion was ſeconded by the Duke d'Aiguillon: a noble enthuſiaſm ſeized the whole aſſembly; and with a diſintereſtedneſs as uncommon as it was laudable, the privileged orders appeared to contend with each other who ſhould make the moſt eſſential ſacrifices. The whole of the feudal oppreſſions were at once unanimouſly aboliſhed; the feudal courts of judicature diſſolved; ſinecure places, the game-laws, pluralities, rabbit-warrens, dove-cotes, caſualties, and the ſale of offices, were for ever annihilated. An augmentation of the ſtipends of the inferior clergy was decreed; and thoſe provinces which poſſeſſed diſtinct privileges formally renounced them, and agreed, that with the equalization of taxes the whole people of France ought to be placed under an equal government, and inveſted with equal privileges.

On the 7th of Auguſt the new miniſters were introduced to the aſſembly. The ſeals had been given to the Archbiſhop of Bourdeaux; the war-department was committed to M. de la Tour du Pin; MM. St. Prieſt, Montmorin, and Neckar, were reinſtated in their former employments. A very able ſtatement of the finances was on this occaſion

occaſion preſented by M. Neckar; and he concluded by propoſing a loan at five per cent. to ſupply the temporary deficiency, till more effectual meaſures could be taken for the reſtoration of the public affairs. It was a deplorable error, that the committee of finance, to whom M. Neckar's propoſal was remitted for conſideration, reduced the terms of the loan to four and a half. In the debate which took place on the ſubject, there is reaſon to believe that Mirabeau was prompted by a perſonal oppoſition to the miniſter; but of this unfortunate ſtep, it is ſaid, he afterwards heartily repented. It not only defeated the preſent meaſures for the re-eſtabliſhment of the finances, but unſettled for ever the confidence of the monied men in the executive government, on the ſtability of which they could no longer depend.

In digeſting the reſolutions of the 4th of Auguſt, the conſtruction which was applied by the democratic members to one of the articles, occaſioned conſiderable debates. They wiſhed to conſider tithes as a *feudal* tax levied upon land; and this conſtruction was ſtrenuouſly reſiſted by the clerical members. The Abbé Sieyes, in a debate which took place on this ſubject on the 16th of Auguſt, evinced, with much legal knowledge and logical preciſion, that tithes were not a tax impoſed agreeably to the feudal ſyſtem, but a ſimple rent-charge laid upon their eſtates by the original proprietors, for the maintenance of religion among their tenants and vaſſals; that the actual proprietors had purchaſed their eſtates, ſubject to this rent charge; and that, by transferring it from the hands of the clergy to thoſe of the landed proprietors, only the ariſtocratic intereſt would derive any benefit. The Abbé concluded a moſt able

ſpeech, by the memorable ſentence:—"If you "wiſh to be free, begin by being juſt."

It can only be aſcribed to that unfortunate ſpirit of religious unbelief which the pernicious writings of Voltaire and other atheiſts had inculcated in France, that the unanſwerable reaſoning of the Abbé Sieyes ſhould have produced ſo little effect. The clergy, who foreſaw in what manner the queſtion would be decided, determined, like Cæſar, to fall with grace; and, on the following day, ſpontaneouſly deſired to place the whole of their tithes under the diſcretion of the national aſſembly, claiming only for themſelves an allowance adequate to the dignity and decency of public worſhip, and the relief of the poor.

So eſſential is religion to the ſupport and welfare of every ſociety, that almoſt the whole of thoſe dreadful calamities of which France has become the conſpicuous theatre, may be aſcribed to that fatal and ruinous infidelity which all the ſuperior orders had imbibed. If there is no religion, experience, not leſs than theory, aſſures us, there will be no morals in a nation. If the motive to purity and integrity is taken away, the practice muſt neceſſarily degenerate. The firſt great error committed by the French revolutioniſts was this abſurd and wanton ſacrifice to their irreligious prejudices; and this was the firſt meaſure that raiſed againſt them a hoſt of foreign and domeſtic enemies; this was the firſt inſult upon juſtice that ſullied the fairneſs of their proceedings, and alarmed and irritated mankind. So entirely indeed does an irreligious ſpirit deprave and derange the human mind, that even the exalted talents of Mirabeau were in this inſtance the dupes of his prejudices; and if he did, as is affirmed, aſſert, that to effect a revolution they muſt begin by uncatholiciſing

liciſing France, we can only refer it to that dark cloud which ever obſcures the underſtanding of infidels, that he did not ſee that the attempt would be the moſt fatal to the cauſe of liberty. The example of France, in this inſtance, will operate as an inſtruction to other ſtates; and though we ſhould bluſh to appear as the advocates of any thing which is contrary to the principles of liberty, either civil or religious, yet we cannot help adopting the ſentiment of a late writer,—"That the moſt dan-"gerous of libels are thoſe againſt God; and that "whoever attempts to deprive civil ſociety of the "uſeful reſtraints, and of the ſolid conſolations "of a future ſtate, deſerves exemplary puniſh-"ment."

The decrees of the 4th of Auguſt did not prove generally acceptable to the privileged orders; and in many parts of the kingdom it was inſinuated, that the aſſembly had exceeded their powers, in preſuming to deſtroy the rights and privileges of others. But what was ſtill worſe, they did not ſerve to reſtore tranquillity among the people themſelves. As Paris was the ſeat of the moſt afflicting diſorders, M.M. Bailly and La Fayette laboured with a laudable zeal to reſtore order and government to the metropolis, by digeſting not only a good ſyſtem of civil police, but by organizing the city militia upon principles of military ſubordination.

In the mean time the aſſembly was employed in digeſting and framing a declaration of rights as a preface to the conſtitutional code. Among the ſketches preſented for their conſideration by different members, three only attracted particular attention. Thoſe of the Marquis La Fayette, of the Abbé Sieyes, and of M. Mounier.

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The assembly, after much deliberation, referred the matter to a committee of twenty-five members, who consolidated the leading sentiments contained in each of these declarations, into that form which was afterwards published, as an introduction to the constitution of 1791.

In deliberating on the principles of their new constitution, the topic which afforded the most interesting debate, was the share which should be allotted to the King in the legislative authority. An absolute *veto*, such as the King of Great Britain possesses, was pleaded for by the Count de Mirabeau, the Duke de Liancourt, M.M. Mounier, Treillard, D'Antraigues, and Lally Tolendal; while the more democratic members, Garat, Sales, De Landine, Beaumetz, and others, represented it as a prerogative destructive of the power and energy of the legislature, and as constituting no part of what they considered as the executive authority. A middle path was chosen, and what was termed a suspensive *veto* was conceded to the King; in other words, he was invested with the right of suspending any act of the assembly for two successive legislatures.

During the discussion of this topic, another question of considerable importance arose, namely, whether the legislature should consist of one or two houses; and, after a very ample investigation, it was decided against two chambers by a great majority.

The deplorable deficiency of the revenue was still unremedied; and the situation of the kingdom in this respect appeared so completely discouraging, that the national assembly itself seemed to turn from the unpleasing subject with disgust and abhorrence. Private benevolences had been solicited,

ſolicited, and contributions made to an immenſe amount, ſtill without effect. To remedy, in ſome degree, this increaſing evil, the miniſter of finance was compelled to aſſume a bolder tone; and on the firſt of October he propoſed to the aſſembly, that a contribution ſhould be demanded from every citizen, equivalent to one fourth of his net income, to be paid into the public treaſury, within the ſpace of fifteen months. The propoſition was combated for ſome time as a new and unprecedented demand; but it was vigorouſly ſupported by Mirabeau (who ſeems to have repented of his oppoſition to M. Neckar's loan), and was at length decreed.

The city of Paris was ſtill afflicted with a dreadful ſcarcity of proviſions, and the minds of that jealous and ſuſpicious people were agitated by a variety of reports and alarms. A project for the eſcape of the King to Metz, was confidently ſpoken of; and it was ſaid that the capital was once more to be inveſted with an armed force. An unfortunate tranſaction which took place at Verſailles, contributed to afford a colour to theſe reports. The regiment of Flanders dragoons had been ordered to aſſiſt the national guard at Verſailles, in the preſervation of order and tranquillity at the palace. On the 1ſt of October, a public entertainment was given in the royal ſaloon by the *gardes du corps*, or King's life-guards, to welcome the officers of the regiment of Flanders. Several of the national guard were alſo invited. After the ſecond courſe, four toaſts were given, the King, the Queen, the Dauphin, and the Royal family. The *Nation* was propoſed, but was formally rejected by the *gardes du corps*. At the cloſe of the entertainment, the grenadiers of the regiment of Flanders,

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and the Swiſs chaſſeurs were admitted. At this ſuſpicious criſis the Queen, accompanied by his Majeſty and the heir apparent, made their appearance; and the military drank their healths with drawn ſwords, and with ſome confuſed expreſſions of indignity, it is ſaid, towards the revolution. After the royal gueſts had retired, a ſcene of riot and intemperate enthuſiaſm ſucceeded; the ladies of the court diſtributed white cockades, which was conſidered as the counter-revolutionary enſign, and the national cockade was ſaid to have been trampled under foot by ſome of the ſoldiers.

The news of this entertainment, induſtriouſly propagated, we may well conceive, with every circumſtance of exaggeration, at Paris, ſerved to kindle the latent embers into an overwhelming flame. Early on the morning of the 5th of October, an immenſe mob, chiefly compoſed of the loweſt order of women, ſallied from the ſuburbs, and collected before the *Hôtel de Ville*. They were clamorous for bread, and even threatened the lives of the municipal officers. By the addreſs of a young man of the name of Maillard, who was ſuppoſed to have undertaken the taſk at the requeſt of ſome of the members of the *Commune*, who were apprehenſive for the conſequences, they were drawn off to the *Champs Eliſées*. There, by an inſtantaneous impulſe, it was reſolved immediately to proceed to Verſailles, and Maillard was choſen to conduct the barbarous emigration. The enthuſiaſm ſoon communicated itſelf to the grenadiers of the national guard; and partly by compulſion, and partly in the hope of preventing miſchief, the Marquis de la Fayette proceeded with the national guard of Paris for Verſailles. As the troop which was led

by Maillard had preceded the militia by ſome hours, they arrived at the gates of the national aſſembly, long before M. La Fayette could poſſibly overtake them. Maillard, who undertook to be their advocate, with ſome difficulty perſuaded the majority of the mob to remain without, while he, with fifteen of the women, were admitted to the bar. His diſcourſe was probably in a ſtyle adapted to his conſtituents and the occaſion. He complained of the ſcarcity of bread, and of the inſult offered to the national cockade. M. Mounier, the preſident, conducted himſelf with the utmoſt prudence on ſo trying an occaſion. He aſſured the petitioners, that what they had heard of the diſaffection of the *gardes du corps*, was a calumny; and a deputation of the national aſſembly, attended by five of the more decent of the Pariſian women, repaired to the King's apartment, to conſult with his majeſty on the means of obviating the impending famine.

The condeſcenſion of the King, and the good conduct of M. Mounier, appear to have ſatisfied this firſt troop of invaders, and a conſiderable part of them were ſent back with Maillard, in as many carriages as could be procured. In the mean time, a ſecond banditti, more ferocious, if poſſible, than the firſt, arrived. Unfortunately the ſuſpicious temper of the people was alarmed by a new diſcovery; and the report of the meditated eſcape to Metz, was confirmed by the King's carriages having been ordered to the gate of the caſtle, which communicates from the orangery, where they were ſtopped by the national guard of Verſailles. While the evening approached, the miſerable populace wandered about the ſtreets, or crowded the hall, famiſhing with hunger. Such

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was, indeed, the ſcarcity, that the horſe of one of the *gardes du corps*, which was killed in a trifling riot, was devoured almoſt half raw. The preſident of the aſſembly humanely exerted himſelf to procure proviſions from every quarter, and the national hall was the ſcéne of a ſcanty and tumultuous entertainment.

About midnight the militia of Paris arrived, and the Marquis de la Fayette immediately repaired to the royal cloſet, to concert with his majeſty the means of maintaining the public tranquillity. The night was profoundly dark, and a deluge of rain poured from the heavens. At about five in the morning, the Marquis de la Fayette, after having viſited the poſts, retired to his chamber, to write a few lines to the municipality of Paris, and perhaps in the hope of obtaining a ſhort repoſe after the fatigues of the preceding day. He had not, however, retired above half an hour, before a freſh alarm, and new diſaſters, again demanded his utmoſt vigilance. In that fatal ſecurity, which the preſence of the military had inſpired, the caſtle of Verſailles was left unguarded in ſeveral places; and whether there was really a plot formed againſt the perſon of the Queen, or whether the outrage was the inſtantaneous impulſe of ſome of thoſe wretches who wandered about the ſtreets in this inclement night, without a ſhelter for their heads, is uncertain—but the day had ſcarcely begun to break, before a ferocious multitude had forced their way, by two avenues, into the royal court of the palace. Some haſty diſpoſitions of defence were made by the *gardes du corps*, and one man was ſhot dead by them upon the ſpot: the rioters, however, confident in their numbers, were not diſmayed, but mounted the

grand ſtair-caſe, and proceeded to the Queen's apartment. M. Miomandre, one of the *gardes du corps*, had juſt arrived in time to inform her Majeſty of the danger, and ſhe eſcaped by a private paſſage to the King's apartment. The heroic Miomandre planted himſelf againſt the door, but was ſoon ſtruck to the ground, and left for dead, though he afterwards happily recovered of his wounds.

While the Queen had retreated to the King's apartment, equally alarmed and anxious for her ſafety, his Majeſty had proceeded to hers by a different route, and they miſſed each other. He returned, however, without loſs of time; and, with mixed emotions, they prepared to face the ſavage multitude. Their Majeſties remained for ſome time in a ſtate of awful ſuſpenſe—the noiſe and tumult increaſed, and the mob at length attempted to force the door of the apartment. In the midſt of the conſternation which ſuch a criſis muſt have occaſioned, the uproar appeared ſuddenly to ceaſe. A gentle rap was heard at the door of the chamber; one of the attendants ventured to open it; and the apartments were immediately filled with the Pariſian guards. The officer commanded the ſoldiers to ground their arms, and aſſured his Majeſty that all was ſafe, and the banditti completely repulſed.

Great credit is due to M. La Fayette for his exertions on this occaſion. His activity, from the firſt moment of the alarm, was unbounded. The national guard however unfortunately could not be rallied in time, entirely to prevent bloodſhed. The rabble had murdered two of the *gardes du corps*, before the militia arrived; and the heads of

theſe victims of anarchy being fixed upon ſpikes, were carried before the deteſtable banditti, on their retreat to Paris, which, on finding themſelves defeated, they ſoon commenced, and an appearance of tranquillity once more pervaded Verſailles.

As the principal danger now ſeemed to have ſubſided, the royal family were perſuaded to ſhew themſelves at a balcony to the ſoldiers and people; and they were received with teſtimonies of loyalty and eſteem. Amidſt the acclamations of joy, however, a few voices were heard to exclaim "The "King to Paris!" and the demand was preſently ecchoed from every quarter, and was too irreſiſtibly enforced, to be with prudence refuſed.

From whatever cauſes, therefore, the tumult might have originated, it is not poſſible to remark this circumſtance, without joining in the ſuſpicion that there ſtill were emiſſaries among the people, who at leaſt directed their movements to this point, that the King and the aſſembly ſhould be compelled to eſtabliſh their abode in Paris. Of a conſpiracy formed for the aſſaſſination of the Queen, there has been no ſatisfactory proof exhibited; on the contrary, it is impoſſible to diſcover what end ſuch an event could anſwer to any party whatever; and it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the attempt to enter her apartment to maltreat, and perhaps to murder her, originated in the ferocious diſpoſition of ſome of thoſe deſperate miſcreants, who are prepared to ſacrifice every ſentiment of mercy or juſtice to their ſavage reſentment; and that the popular odium which was attached to the character of this unfortunate princeſs, was, in reality, the ſole motive of this diabolical attempt.

The conſent of the King to remove to Paris was no ſooner notified t the mixed multitude, than every appearance of tumult and violence was converted into a tranſport of joy. The national aſſembly ſoon after reſolved, that the legiſlative body was inſeparable from the perſon of the King, and prepared to follow him. If the meaſure of the removal originated, as it is probable it did, in any ſcheme of the popular party, aſſuredly nothing was ever more ill adviſed. The aſſembly was, by this ſtep, for ever rendered ſubſervient to the populace and the clubs of Paris, and its independence completely deſtroyed. It was alſo undoubtedly humiliating to Louis, who might from that moment be conſidered rather as a captive than a king. It is neceſſary, however, from a ſtrict regard to impartial truth, to remark, that the Engliſh publications, in deſcribing this affair, have been almoſt uniformly diſgraced by the moſt notorious and moſt abſurd falſehoods. It is not true, that "muſkets were levelled at the Queen "as ſhe ſtood in the balcony;" it is not true, that the gardes du corps were "deprived of "their arms, and treated as priſoners" in the proceſſion; for both they, and the regiment of Flanders, mixed indiſcriminately with the national guards; and either from motives of policy, or as a teſtimony of friendſhip, even exchanged hats and ſwords with them: it is not true, that "the mangled and bloody heads of the two "guards who had been murdered in the morning, "were carried along" in the proceſſion with their Majeſties, or "deſignedly exhibited before the "carriage which conveyed the royal captives;" for they were carried off by the great body of banditti, who had proceeded before to Paris: but it is thus

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that the records of hiſtory are unfortunately falſified, to ſerve the baſe and temporary purpoſes of party. With that ſingular levity which characteriſes Frenchmen, the march to Paris was a feſtive, and even a ſportive proceſſion; and this is evidenced by the perſuaſion of the multitude, that the preſence of the royal family would put an end to the famine; and by the vulgar pleaſantry which amuſed the populace in their progreſs, "We are "bringing the baker, and the baker's wife, and "the little journeyman."

While it is proper to counteract falſehood, it is equally the duty of the hiſtorian to comment fairly upon every tranſaction, and to render juſtice to the ſagacity and virtue of individuals. It was well foreſeen by M. Mounier, and the reſt of the moderate party in the aſſembly, that by this imprudent meaſure the independence of the repreſentative body was at an end. He, M. Lally Tollendal, and ſome others, retired in diſguſt; and many of the high ariſtocratic party even emigrated from the kingdom. On the 19th of October the national aſſembly held their firſt ſeſſion at Paris; but the preſence of the court and the legiſlature neither relieved the famine, nor quelled the turbulent and ferocious ſpirit of the populace; for, on the 21ſt, an unfortunate baker was hanged by the mob, on the moſt frivolous pretence of being a monopoliſt. The aſſembly, therefore thought it neceſſary to provide againſt future violations of the peace, by enacting a ſevere law againſt riots and inſurrections. By this decree, the magiſtrates, on the riotous aſſembling of any number of perſons, were authoriſed to call in the aid of the military. A red flag was to be diſplayed upon the town-houſe; and from that moment, all aſſemblings of

the people, armed or unarmed, were conſidered as criminal, if they did not immediately diſperſe.

The next deliberation of importance which occupied the aſſembly, was a plan for the organiſation of the repreſentation. The ſcheme which was adopted was the production of the Abbé Sieyes. The old Gothic diviſion of the kingdom into provinces, governments, generalities, bailiwicks, &c. was aboliſhed, and a ſimpler diviſion, into eighty-three larger ſections, nearly of equal ſize, under the name of departments, was adopted in its ſtead. Each department was ſubdivided into diſtricts, and theſe again into cantons. For the election of repreſentatives, and other public functionaries, an aſſembly of electors was choſen for each department, by primary aſſemblies, to be held in each canton. The number of the repreſentative body for the whole nation, was to be ſeven hundred and forty-five; but the mode of apportioning theſe, according to the territory, the population, and the taxation, was unneceſſarily complex; and the more practicable mode would have been, to proceed upon the ſimple principle of population alone.

About the ſame period, lettres-de-cachet were formally aboliſhed by a decree of the aſſembly; and, much to their honour, the national repreſentatives, by their own act, diſclaimed the privilege of *franking letters*. The decree for the appropriation of the church-lands to the exigencies of the ſtate is not deſerving of equal applauſe. It was a flagrant violation of the rights of property, and was an act of peculiar injuſtice and ſeverity to the immediate poſſeſſors. The hardſhip of the decree was afterwards in ſome meaſure mitigated, by an act which provided for the ſupport of the clergy

out of the national treaſury, and which increaſed the ſtipends of the inferior orders. But ſtill neither the juſtice nor the policy of the proceeding can be defended; and thoſe who conſider, with an attentive eye, the ſubſequent hiſtory of France, will trace, from this and other acts of bigotry (for moſt infidels are bigots to their own ſyſtem) the whole of thoſe unprecedented calamities which have afflicted that country.

In the mean time, the provinces were diſtracted by the moſt alarming tumults. The whole kingdom was divided into two parties. The higher orders were haughty, frivolous, and depraved by all the vices attendant on a ſtate of indolence and wealth; the inferior claſſes were ignorant, oppreſſed, and conſequently ferocious towards thoſe whom they had regarded as their tyrants, and the worthleſſneſs of whoſe characters neither inſpired reſpect nor eſteem. The caſtles of ſeveral of the nobility were pulled down. At Straſbourgh, Caen, Marſeilles, Toulon, Senlis, and other towns, fatal riots were excited, and ſeveral lives were loſt. The French people recovered the poſſeſſion of liberty by too ſudden an effort either to underſtand its nature, or to practiſe its principles: and while ſuch was the external face of affairs, the ſtate was unſound at the core. The inſincerity of the court, the profligacy and imprudence of the nobles, the violence of the popular party, and the ſpirit of intrigue predominant in all, prepared the way for thoſe deeper horrors in which this devoted nation was ſhortly to be involved.

From ſcenes of calamity and violence, we turn with a ſerene but heartfelt pleaſure to that ſtate of peace and general happineſs which Great Britain at this moment enjoyed; and though the hiſtory of

of our country has little, at this period, to gratify curioſity, or to intereſt the more turbulent paſſions, its domeſtic proſperity affords a view conſoling to Engliſhmen; and the only unpleaſing ſenſation which can accompany the contemplation, reſults from the reflexion, that this envied calm, this luxurious tranquillity, has ſince been unfortunately, perhaps raſhly, interrupted.

On the 21ſt of January the Britiſh parliament was opened, as uſual, by a ſpeech from the 1790 throne, but no debate of importance took place for a conſiderable time. On receiving the report of the military eſtimates, Mr. Burke, with his uſual intemperance, very abruptly introduced a philippic againſt the French revolution; and Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan having expreſſed a different opinion, he embraced the opportunity to diſſolve every connexion with his former friends. Various opinions and conjectures have been entertained reſpecting Mr. Burke's conduct on this occaſion. By ſome, not the moſt favourably diſpoſed to that gentleman, it has been attributed to a ſecret jealouſy, which, it is aſſerted, he had long harboured, of the ſuperior abilities of Mr. Sheridan, and of his increaſing favour with the oppoſition party; by others it was excuſed on the plea of certain ſarcaſms, in which ſome members of the national aſſembly, more witty than prudent, had indulged themſelves, relative to the tireſome and deſultory harangues of the Hibernian orator; while others, judging from the applauſes which were beſtowed by Mr. Pitt on the invectives of Mr. Burke againſt the French, have not ſcrupled to ſuſpect a ſecret arrangement between that gentleman and the miniſter, for the purpoſe of promoting certain deſigns which the chancellor of the exchequer did not

not as yet think proper openly to avow. If, however, we candidly conſider the nature and tendency of Mr. Burke's favourite maxim, "that "the paſſions ought to inſtruct the reaſon," it will perhaps be unneceſſary to inquire for any further explanation.

But whatever might have been the motives of the right hon. gentleman, thus far it may not be improper to remark, that however cenſurable the proceedings of the French may have been; if it was the intention of the Britiſh miniſtry to perſevere in that ſalutary ſyſtem of neutrality, ſo eſſential to the retrieval of our finances, and ſo conducive to the extenſion of our commerce, diſcuſſions of this nature ought to have been cautiouſly avoided, and as much as poſſible diſcouraged by adminiſtration. Let them guard with vigilance our own conſtitution (and ſurely the exiſting laws were ſufficient for the purpoſe): but it certainly would have been true policy to have avoided all interference in the affairs of France; to have afforded no cauſe of jealouſy, no pretext for diſagreement. It is the policy of England, ſays the moſt judicious of modern politicians (Dean Tucker), to trade with all nations, and to quarrel with none.

Encouraged by the ſmall majority which appeared againſt them on Mr. Beaufoy's motion for the repeal of the teſt-act in the preceding ſeſſions, the diſſenters renewed their application in the ſeſſions of 1790. Poſterity will regard with a ſmile the ardour with which the contending parties ſupported the diſpute on ſo trivial an occaſion. The diſſenters left ſcarcely any earthly means untried to procure the repeal of laws, which were reduced to a mere dead letter, and the penalties

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of which were never exacted; and the party of the church ſupported, with equal vehemence, two obſolete ſtatutes, enacted in a ſtate of ſociety very different from the preſent, and the enforcement of which will probably never be requited in any circumſtances of the Britiſh nation. The preſs overflowed with publications on the fruitleſs controverſy: every diſſenting preacher who could wield a pen, conceived that his duty to God and the higheſt intereſts of ſociety, irreſiſtibly impelled him to the promulgation of his ſentiments, and probably flattered himſelf with unfading laurels from the depth of his reſearches, or the excellence of his compoſitions; while an equal number of redoubtable champions from amongſt the inferior clergy, promiſed themſelves, with equal confidence, the immediate attainment of the higheſt dignities in the church, by their zeal and ability diſplayed in the cauſe.

It muſt however be confeſſed, that the proceedings of the diſſenters were among the moſt injudicious that ever were adopted by any party, civil or religious, upon any occaſion. Their ardour to obtain their object, only ſerved to magnify it in the eyes of their opponents, and gave it a conſequence which it did not deſerve; many of their publications were highly imprudent and cenſurable; the example of France was mentioned with an approbation too unqualified; and ſome of the moſt vehement of their partiſans, in the true ſpirit of fanaticiſm, confidently propheſied that the great milennium was at hand, which was to effect the final overthrow of all religious eſtabliſhments. They proceeded further, and appointed committees and aſſociations for the effecting of their purpoſe; and ſome of theſe committees, it is

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ſaid, even recommended to the great body of diſſenters the withholding of their votes at the general election from ſuch members of parliament as ſhould ſhew themſelves adverſe to their intereſts.

The apprehenſions of the clergy were ſcarcely leſs ridiculous than the predictions of the diſſenters. The old exclamation of the church being in danger, was once more renewed; counter-aſſociations were formed, and reſolutions paſſed with the moſt formal gravity, aſſerting the danger of the ſtate, ſhould a permiſſion be iſſued by the legiſlature to common ſoldiers or exciſemen, to exerciſe their reſpective employments without the ſolemn ſanction of the ſacramental teſt. Mr. Fox, on the 2d of March, introduced the motion for the repeal with conſiderable ability. The great principle on which he reſted his argument was, that religious teſts were juſtifiable only on a ſuppoſition that men who entertained certain ſpeculative opinions, would be led by theſe opinions to the commiſſion of actions which might be pernicious to ſociety. Neither the civil nor religious opinions of the proteſtant diſſenters, he ſaid, contained any thing contrary to ſound morals; and they had proved themſelves, on ſeveral occaſions, the zealous ſupporters of our conſtitution, and of his Majeſty's family, even when the conduct of the high church party had been leſs loyal, and leſs worthy of commendation.

With his uſual good ſenſe, Mr. Fox declared himſelf a friend to religious eſtabliſhments; and paid a handſome compliment to the church of England, which, he ſaid, had avoided all that was ſuperſtitious, and retained all that appeared eſſential in religion. Moderation and a tolerant ſpirit,

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he obſerved, were however the beſt ſafeguards of every inſtitution, civil or religious.

He deprecated the introduction of French politics upon this occaſion, and reminded the houſe that the application of the diſſenters had been made three years ago, when the French revolution was not ſo much as in contemplation. He added, that however he might rejoice in the emancipation of thirty millions of people, yet there were ſome acts of the national aſſembly which he could not applaud; and the ſummary and indiſcriminate forfeiture of the property of the church, came under this deſcription. He cenſured in ſtrong terms the violent interference of Dr. Horſley, biſhop of St. David's, on the preſent occaſion, and declared, that however he might admire the abilities of Dr. Price and others, he always diſapproved of political ſermons, either by churchmen or diſſenters.

The motion was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke. By theſe gentlemen the houſe was cautioned againſt entertaining any motion upon mere abſtract principles, and the members were exhorted always to conſider the practical tendency of whatever was ſubmitted to parliament. Toleration the diſſenters were entitled to, and toleration they enjoyed in the ampleſt extent; but the indiſpenſible neceſſity of a permanent church eſtabliſhment, required that toleration ſhould not be extended to equality. The wiſdom of our anceſtors enacted the teſt and corporation acts, not for the purpoſe of perſecution, but for the prevention of evil; and it ought not to be forgotten, that our conſtitution owed its very exiſtence to the ſalutary operation of theſe laws, without which the throne of England would have been occupied by a Stuart, and that houſe would have been deprived of the privilege

privilege they now exerciſed of deliberating on this, or any other ſubject.

The example of America was adverted to, as it had been pleaded that religion in that country required not the ſanction of a teſt. To this it was obſerved, that the conſtitution of America reſembled ours neither in church nor ſtate; and thoſe provinces which had determined not to ſanction any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, had hitherto no reaſon to boaſt of the experiment.

The teſt laws had been declared inefficacious and nugatory, ſince an act of indemnity was paſſed by the legiſlature before the cloſe of every ſeſſion. Admitting this to be the caſe, the complaint of oppreſſion was groundleſs and abſurd. But though the temperate forbearance of government from the execution of theſe laws, was truly laudable, when the danger was neither alarming nor imminent to the church, yet it did not follow that their total repeal would be conſiſtent with ſound policy, ſince a criſis might come, when theſe laws might be found neceſſary, and, when moſt wanted, it would be moſt impoſſible to replace them.

To prove that the leading perſons among the diſſenters were avowed enemies to the church of England, and deſirous of its overthrow, ſeveral extracts were read from the writings of Dr. Prieſtley, Mr. Robert Robinſon, and others: and, on a diviſion, the motion was negatived by a majority of eighty-nine.

The diſcuſſion of this queſtion was almoſt immediately ſucceeded by one of ſtill greater importance; for on the 4th of March the celebrated Iriſh patriot, Mr. Flood, introduced a motion for a parliamentary reform. The argument on which he grounded his propoſition was, that the houſe

of

of commons, as at preſent conſtituted, was not an adequate repreſentation of the people. That the members of that houſe were the legal repreſentatives, he freely admitted; and he added, that they were a highly uſeful and honourable council, and ſuch as in moſt countries of Europe would be thought a great acquiſition to the cauſe of freedom; but the Britiſh conſtitution entitled us to ſomething better. The principle on which repreſentation was founded, he ſaid, was, that the repreſentative body muſt be delegated by a body of conſtituents, who were themſelves a clear majority of the nation. But this was ſo far from being the caſe in Great Britain, that the majority of the repreſentatives who decided for eight millions of people, were choſen by a number of electors, not exceeding ſix or eight thouſand.

A new body of electors was therefore wanting; and in their appointment two things were to be conſidered; one, that they ſhould be ſufficiently numerous; and the other, that they ſhould have a competent ſhare of property, becauſe that was conducive not only to independence in the exerciſe of their rights, but alſo to the ſpirit of order. In purſuance of theſe ideas, he propoſed, that one hundred members ſhould be added to the preſent houſe of commons, to be choſen by a new and numerous body of conſtituents, the reſident houſeholders in every county.

Mr. Flood evinced much conſtitutional knowledge in maintaining his propoſition, and enforced it by ſeveral reſpectable hiſtorical authorities. He was oppoſed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Burke, chiefly on the principle that the preſent was not a time to attempt innovation. One remark, however, of Mr. Windham's, deſerves to be recorded, becauſe, as that gentleman has ever been

appeared a moſt clamorous advocate for what he chooſes to term the Britiſh conſtitution, it will ſerve to explain what are his ideas of that conſtitution. "Mr. Flood," in the courſe of his ſpeech, "had "quoted the celebrated caſe of the Middleſex "election, in which the candidate choſen by the "*minority* of the electors had been decided to be "the legal repreſentative. Mr. Windham could "not ſee the hardſhip of this. If ſuch had been "the general rule of election through the whole "kingdom, the affairs of the nation, for aught he "knew, might have gone on as well as ever."

At the inſtance of Mr. Fox, who ſaid he perceived the ſenſe of the houſe to be againſt the propoſed reform, Mr. Flood was prevailed on to withdraw his propoſition.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion, a number of petitions were preſented by the manufacturers of tobacco againſt the bill which had been paſſed in the preceding ſeſſion, for levying an exciſe upon that commodity; and on the 16th of April, from a large maſs of evidence which had been given relative to the operation of the act, Mr. Sheridan enumerated ſeveral hardſhips which affected the dealers in that article, in conſequence of it, and moved for a repeal; but the motion was negatived. The arguments of Mr. Sheridan, however, appeared ſo forcible, that Mr. Pitt almoſt immediately introduced a new bill on the ſubject, in which he profeſſed to obviate the principal objections againſt the former. It is painful to add, that a motion to ſecure to the perſons concerned the glorious privilege of a trial by jury in certain caſes, was overruled and rejected upon a diviſion.

Notwithſtanding the overwhelming weight of the public burdens, the houſe of commons, in this their concluding ſeſſion, evinced, in two inſtances,

their unbounded generoſity. The firſt was an increaſe of their ſpeaker's ſalary, from three thouſand to ſix thouſand pounds per annum, which was voted with only the diſſentient voice of Mr. Huſſey, who oppoſed the motion, as tending to increaſe the influence of the crown.

The other inſtance related to the granting of a penſion to Dr. Willis of one thouſand pounds per annum, for the term of twenty-one years, as a compenſation for his attendance on his Majeſty, in his late illneſs.

The ſubject of the ſlave-trade was again urged upon the notice of parliament by Mr. Wilberforce, early in the ſeſſion. The evidence on the part of the ſlave-dealers was, however, protracted till the 23d of April, and the remaining part of the ſeſſion was employed in receiving evidence in favour of the abolition.

The trial of Mr. Haſtings ſtill proceeded with a tardineſs almoſt unprecedented. The trial was opened on the charge reſpecting preſents, on the 16th of February; but in the whole courſe of the ſeſſion the court ſat only thirteen days. On the 11th of May, Mr. Burke ſubmitted a propoſal to the houſe of commons, for authoriſing the managers to abandon a part of the charges, and to inſiſt on ſo many of them only as might appear the moſt conducive to the obtaining of ſpeedy and effectual juſtice; and the reſolutions propoſed by him on the ſubject, received the ſanction of the houſe.

The intemperance of the parties concerned in the trial, produced in this ſeſſion two unpleaſant tranſactions. Mr. Burke, in the courſe of the proſecution, had charged a Captain Wlliams with the murder of an Indian officer of rank, of the name of Muſtapha Khan, in the affair of the Begums of Oude;

Oude; whereas Williams aſſerted, that, in beheading him, he had only obeyed the orders of Colonel Hannay, his commanding officer, who was directed by the nabob to put him to death. Captain Williams, therefore, petitioned the houſe, that, to clear him from this imputation, he might be brought to trial; but after conſiderable debate, the houſe agreed to the opinion of Mr. Pitt, that there was no exiſting law by which Mr. Williams could be tried.

While Mr. Burke was perplexed and haraſſed by this tranſaction, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee the great advocate of Mr. Haſtings (Major Scott) involved in at leaſt equal diſgrace, by being publicly reprimanded by the Speaker on the 28th of May, for a libel on the houſe of commons, on ſome topics relative to the trial.

On the 31ſt of March, Mr. Dundas preſented to the houſe his annual review of the revenues of India, from which it appeared, that the revenues of Bengal amounted to five millions ſix hundred and nineteen thouſand nine hundred and ninety-four pounds; thoſe of Madras, to one million two hundred and thirteen thouſand two hundred and twenty-nine pounds; and thoſe of Bombay, to one hundred and thirty-eight thouſand two hundred and twenty-eight pounds. That the charges of the Bengal eſtabliſhment, were three millions one hundred and eighty-three thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds; thoſe of Madras, one million three hundred and two thouſand and thirty-ſeven pounds; and of Bombay, five hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand ſeven hundred and ten pounds. The whole amount of the revenue was ſix millions nine hundred and ſeventy-one thouſand four hundred and fifty-one pounds; and of the charges, five millions and fifty-three thouſand nine hundred

and ninety-ſeven pounds, leaving a clear ſurplus of one million nine hundred and ſeventeen thouſand four hundred and fifty-four pounds. To this amount of the net revenue was to be added two hundred and thirty thouſand three hundred and ſixty-one pounds for exports; and the ſum of ſixty-five thouſand pounds charges for Bencoolen and the Prince of Wales's iſland; leaving on the whole a net ſum of two millions one hundred and forty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and fifteen pounds, applicable to the diſcharge of debts and the purchaſe of inveſtments.

The debts of the Company were ſeven millions ſix hundred and four thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four pounds for the laſt year, and thoſe for the current year ſix millions five hundred and one thouſand three hundred and eighty-five pounds, giving a decreaſe of one million one hundred and three thouſand three hundred and ſixty-nine pounds.

This ſtatement was ſtrongly controverted by Mr. Huſſey, and ſtill more pointedly by Mr. Francis, who cited ſeveral authorities to prove that the ſtatement was fallacious, and that our affairs in India were by no means in ſo proſperous a ſituation as was repreſented by Mr. Dundas.

In remarking on the ſtate of the public finances for this year, the chancellor of the exchequer congratulated the houſe on being able to lay before them, not ſpeculation, but facts. The ſupplies were eſtimated at eleven millions nine hundred and thirty-one thouſand two hundred and one pounds; and the ways and means, including ſix millions and a half of exchequer bills, were calculated at twelve millions four hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand and eighty-eight pounds. Mr. Pitt proceeded to ſtate the amount of the revenue for the three pre-

ceding years, which, on the loweſt, he eſtimated at fifteen millions ſeven hundred and twenty-three thouſand pounds; but the actual produce of the laſt year had exceeded this ſum by five hundred thouſand pounds; the growing ſurplus of the conſolidated fund he therefore eſtimated at two millions three hundred thouſand pounds; and added, that no leſs a ſum than five millions one hundred and eighty-four thouſand pounds of three per cents, had been purchaſed towards the diſcharge of the national debt.

The increaſed revenue, he obſerved, was not the effect of incidental circumſtances, but of the increaſed proſperity of the nation. The exports for the preceding year amounted to eighteen millions five hundred and thirteen thouſand pounds, of which thirteen millions four hundred and ninety-four thouſand pounds, conſiſted entirely of Britiſh manufactures; a ſum exceeding, in Britiſh manufactures only, the average of ſix years previous to the Am rican war, by upwards of three millions. The imports for the laſt year amounted to ſeventeen millions eight hundred and twenty-eight thouſand pounds; and the number of our ſeamen were increaſed to one third more than they had been in 1773.

Mr. Sheridan agreed, that the commerce of Great Britain was conſiderably increaſed; but adverting to what he had before urged concerning the unfunded debt, and the improvident profuſion of the public money, perſiſted in his aſſertion, that our expenditure was greater than our income. The average of the revenue for three years, he ſaid, amounted to fifteen millions one hundred and forty thouſand pounds, and the expenditure was ſeventeen millions one hundred and forty thouſand pounds, leaving a deficiency of ſix millions on the whole.

From the five millions and a half pretended to be redeemed of the three per cents. he ſaid, the chancellor ought to deduct the additional million of exchequer bills, the money borrowed laſt year, the increaſe of the navy debt, the quarter's revenue anticipated; making in all, three millions five hundred thouſand pounds. He declared that there was not, in the preſent ſtate of the finances, a ſingle pound applicable to the diſcharge of the national debt; and repeated his former aſſertion, that nothing could put the finances into a proper ſtate, but lowering the enormous expenditure; adding, that an attentive inſpection of the national accounts would convince any unprejudiced mind, that there exiſted at preſent an annual deficiency of upwards of one million.

It is ſurpriſing that, under this ſtate of things, both parties ſhould have concurred in the propriety of expoſing the nation to the riſk and the inconveniences of war; and our ſurpriſe muſt be increaſed, when we conſider the trivial occaſion and the futile pretext on which this riſk was incurred. It was true, that the proſperity of Great-Britain was, at the period of which we are treating, in the higheſt degree conſolatory: the commerce of the nation was daily increaſing; and with a prudent reduction of the immenſe and unneceſſary military eſtabliſhments, and of ſinecure places and penſions, the finances of the country might, in the courſe of a few years, have been completely retrieved; but there was not the leſs truth in Mr. Sheridan's obſervations; and inſtead of increaſing the pecuniary embarraſſments of the country, miniſtry ought to have embraced the only opportunity which perhaps will ever be afforded to them, of relieving it from the preſſure of immediate burdens, and averting that criſis at which every government

vernment ought to tremble, when the common reſources of a country may prove inſufficient to anſwer the exigencies of the ſtate. But the example of France, though immediately before their eyes, was either not underſtood, or not regarded.

Theſe reflexions have been ſuggeſted by the diſpute which aroſe, before the concluſion of the ſeſſion of parliament, between the courts of London and Madrid, relative to a Britiſh ſettlement on that part of the north-weſt coaſt of America called Nootka, or Prince William's Sound, the particulars of which it will be proper briefly to relate.

During the laſt voyage of the celebrated circumnavigator, Captain Cook, while the Reſolution and Diſcovery touched at Nootka, or Prince William's Sound, the Britiſh navigators purchaſed from the natives a number of very valuable furs, chiefly of the ſea-otter, which afterwards, in the courſe of their return homewards, they diſpoſed of in China to ſo great an advantage, that Capt. King, in the concluding volume to the Voyages of Capt. Cook, recommended the purſuit of this trade as a lucrative branch of commerce.

In conſequence of this recommendation, about the beginning of the year 1786, ſome merchants and men of letters, ſettled in the Eaſt-Indies, fitted out, with the approbation of Sir John Macpherſon, then governor-general, two ſmall veſſels, for the purpoſe of ſupplying the Chineſe with furs and ginſeng, which laſt article was alſo found in tolerable abundance in this quarter of America. As the trade was found to be productive, in the year 1788 the adventurers determined to form a permanent eſtabliſhment; and Mr. Mears, who was a principal in the concern, purchaſed a ſpot of ground from one of the chiefs of the country, on which he built a houſe, and ſur-

rounded it with a breaſt-work, defended by a three-pounder, in order to protect his repoſitory of furs, &c. from the depredations of the Indians. In the following year the concern was enlarged by the acceſſion of new partners; more ground was purchaſed from the country powers; and a ſettlement was formed, conſiſting of ſeveral artificers, and about ſeventy Chineſe.

In the mean time, two American veſſels, the Columbia and Waſhington, had wintered in Nootka harbour; and on the 6th of May a Spaniſh ſhip of war, the Princeſſa, of twenty-ſix guns, commanded by Don Eſtuan Joſeph Martinez, arrived in the ſame harbour from Mexico, and was ſhortly after joined by a Spaniſh armed ſnow, of ſixteen guns.

For ſome little time, mutual civilities paſſed between the Spaniards and the Engliſh; but, on the 14th of May, Don Martinez proceeded to ſeize the Iphigenia, one of the Engliſh veſſels, conveyed the officers and men on board the Spaniſh ſhips, where they were put in irons, and otherwiſe ill treated. At the ſame time the Spaniſh commander took poſſeſſion of the lands and buildings which were in the poſſeſſion of the ſettlers, removed the Britiſh flag, and declared that all the lands compriſed between Cape Horn and the ſixtieth degree of north latitude, were the actual property of his Catholic Majeſty. Don Martinez, in the courſe of the ſummer, ſeized three other Engliſh veſſels, as they arrived ſucceſſively on the coaſt; and it appears, from the memorial of Mr. Mears, behaved in a very hoſtile and unjuſtifiable manner in every reſpect.

The circumſtance was firſt communicated to the Britiſh miniſters by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, then reſident in London, who took occaſion, at the

the ſame time, to urge his maſter's claim to the excluſive commerce of thoſe parts of America, as founded on the faith of treaties; and added ſeveral complaints relative to the encroachments of the perſons employed in the Britiſh fiſheries in thoſe ſeas. The Britiſh miniſter demanded, previouſly to all diſcuſſion, that the veſſels ſhould be reſtored, and ſatisfaction made for the injury and the inſult. To this it was anſwered, that the captured veſſels and their crews had been ſet at liberty by the Viceroy of Mexico, on the ſuppoſition, as he declared, that nothing but ignorance of the rights of Spain could have induced the merchants in queſtion to attempt any eſtabliſhment on that coaſt.

That the Britiſh miniſtry were perfectly juſtified in demanding explanation and ſatisfaction on this ſubject there cannot be room to doubt; but their raſhneſs and arrogance in the ſucceeding part of the tranſaction it will be difficult to excuſe. The Court of Madrid repeatedly offered to ſubmit the diſpute to be determined by the exiſting treaties relative to the rights of Spain in that quarter of the world; his Catholic Majeſty even condeſcended ſo far as to requeſt that the whole matter might be peaceably referred to the deciſion of any one crowned head in Europe, leaving it to his Britannic Majeſty himſelf to name the royal perſonage by whom it was to be decided; and the miniſter of a neutral power, then reſiding at London, publicly declared that he would undertake to ſettle the whole diſpute to Mr. Pitt's ſatisfaction, for the expence only of a meſſenger to Madrid.

Impelled by the vanity of appearing in the character of a war-miniſter, or wiſhing to diſplay his conſequence, by dictating to a ſovereign power, the Britiſh miniſter determined to arm before he condeſcended to negociate. On the 5th of May, a meſ-

a meſſage from his Majeſty was delivered to the houſe of commons by Mr. Pitt, relative to the tranſaction in Nootka Sound; and on the following day an addreſs was moved by him, aſſuring his Majeſty of the zealous ſupport of that houſe in ſuch meaſures as might be neceſſary. The whole of the oppoſition, and Mr. Fox in particular, concurred in the addreſs, but not without embarraſſing the miniſter by ſome pointed queries relative to the time in which he had been in poſſeſſion of the intelligence; as Mr. Fox obſerved, "that it was "ſcarcely a fortnight ſince the miniſter, in open-"ing his budget, had given the houſe the moſt "confident aſſurances of the probable continuance "of peace; and yet, at that very moment, he "muſt have known, that Spain had, without a "colour of pretence, ſeized upon Britiſh ſhips, "made priſoners of the crews, and confiſcated the "property they contained."

Mr. Burke was the only man in the Britiſh ſenate, who attempted the ſhadow of oppoſition; and his obſervations deſerve to be recorded as a laſting memorial of his good ſenſe, and as a caution to all miniſters, againſt *haſtily engaging in war*. "He recommended every practicable endeavour "at accommodation, as far as was conſiſtent with "the national honour; declaring that, as we *ought* "*never to go to war* for a *profitable wrong*, no more "ought we to take up arms *for an unprofitable* "*right*. He conceived that the balance of Eu-"rope was beſt maintained by a *continuance* of *peace*. "Beſides, what had we to contend for?—Extent of "dominion would do us no good; on the con-"trary, if all the foreign poſſeſſions of Spain could "be brought over to the ſcale of England, he did "not think it was an object for a wiſe man to "deſire."

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An addreſs ſimilar to that of the commons was voted unanimouſly by the houſe of lords; and on the 10th of May, a vote of credit of one million paſſed the houſe of commons alſo without oppoſition. In the mean time immenſe preparations were made both by ſea and land; and thus four millions were expended for the recovery of a few "cat ſkins," (as they were contemptuouſly termed) in a remote and inhoſpitable quarter of the globe; though there was not the moſt diſtant probability that the whole trade of Nootka Sound could ever produce the *fortieth* part of that ſum to the revenues of Great Britain.

Happily the wiſdom or the weakneſs of Spain prevented that effuſion of blood, and thoſe heavy calamities in which the pride and raſhneſs of the Britiſh miniſters were preparing to involve mankind. The Spaniſh miniſtry, after ſome ineffectual endeavours to bring the matter to a reference, conceded to the full demands of Great Britain; but what is moſt ſingular in the tranſaction is, that the trade to Nootka, for which this immenſe expence was incurred, has never been thought worth reviving, nor have the Britiſh ſettlements there, to our knowledge, ever been yet reſtored.

On the 10th of June, while the Spaniſh diſpute was yet pending, his Majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion; and, on the day following, the parliament which had been aſſembled in 1784, and had now ſat ſeven ſeſſions, was diſſolved by proclamation.

The period which the arrangement purſued in the former volumes of this work has preſcribed to our labours in this, very ſingularly accords with a kind of pauſe which, at this criſis, took place in the

the affairs of Europe. From this period nothing very remarkable occurred in the war between the northern powers, till the peace which was concluded in the ſucceeding year. The inſurrection in the Netherlands was brought to a termination, as we have already intimated, without any occurrence of peculiar importance; and even the diſtracted kingdom of France ſeemed, at this moment, to enjoy ſomething like an interval of quiet, at leaſt compared with thoſe dreadful and turbulent ſcenes which have enſued ſince the termination of the year 1791.

The taſk of the modern hiſtorian is uſually extended to ſomething more than the mere detail of political events; and it is generally expected that he ſhould cloſe his labours with a general and abſtract view of the politics, the literature, and the manners of the age which he has undertaken to record. It is neither quite conſiſtent with our plan, nor, if it was, are we arrived at that period when it would be ſeaſonable or proper, to enter minutely into ſuch a diſquiſition. A few obſervations on theſe ſubjects we ſhall ſubjoin, which will appear deſultory, from the neceſſity of being brief; and which may be cenſured as ſuperficial, becauſe they are not ſpecific. By the candid, however, they will be received as they are meant; and with the enlightened part of mankind they may even be productive of more actual good than if they were more in detail, becauſe they may engage them on theſe ſubjects to think for themſelves.

It would be foreign to our purpoſe to indulge in conjecture; nor can the living hiſtorian even view with much ſatisfaction the preſent face of thoſe tranſactions, which at ſome future period may occupy his pen. There is little in the preſent appearance

appearance of European politics to ſoothe philanthropy, or to encourage expectation. The fond viſions of benevolent ſpeculation are fruſtrated by the depraved practice of mankind; and though changes in the civil ſtate of men will neceſſarily be wrought from the diffuſion of knowledge, the inequality of property, and the funding ſyſtem, the experience of the preſent day affords little reaſon to welcome ſuch events.

Revolutions effected by the populace, are eſpecially to be dreaded. However right in their ſentiments, or honeſt in their intentions, the multitude cannot be temperate in their actions, or wiſe in the direction of their irreſiſtible efforts. To prevent ſuch evils, is always laudable; but there is only one infallible mode of preventing revolutions, and that is, by making them unneceſſary. The ſtateſman who would preſerve his country from the calamities of which he has been ſo recently a witneſs, muſt be inſtructed by the example: he muſt, by the moſt rigid economy, guard againſt that fatal derangement of public credit, which has overwhelmed France in an abyſs of miſery; and a prudent attention to the grievances of the ſubject muſt, in all caſes, anticipate complaint. Whatever the conſtitution of modern ſociety, and the improved ſtate of human knowledge has obviouſly rendered obſolete, ought not to be too tenaciouſly retained; and it ſhould be remembered, that while reform proceeds from the governing powers themſelves, it may be conducted with prudence.

If from the more extended range of European politics, we contract our view to the narrow circuit of our domeſtic concerns, the patriotic mind will ſee but little cauſe for exultation, and will find

find many things to reprove and to deplore. The war ſyſtem, ſo inimical to the peace and proſperity of a commercial people, and which has been uniformly condemned by all ſound politicians, is ſtill purſued on every frivolous occaſion; an inattention to economy, the only virtue which can ſave the country, is too little regarded in almoſt every department of government.

But we lament, with ſtill deeper concern, the ſtate of parties in this nation. The reformers are viſionary, violent, and exorbitant in their demands; the party of the court are tenacious of every abuſe. We regard with a religious awe the great principles of the conſtitution, and we ſhould tremble at the innovation which ſhook one ſingle pillar of it in church or ſtate. But practical reforms endanger nothing; and thoſe which would contribute moſt to the eaſe and happineſs of the people, are the leaſt formidable to the government. The peace eſtabliſhment of the country ought undoubtedly to be *greatly* reduced; war, and every cauſe that can operate to increaſe the public debt, ought moſt cautiouſly to be avoided, as the firſt and greateſt of evils. Even in the levying and collecting of the taxes, many improvements might be ſuggeſted for the eaſe of the ſubject and the relief of the poor. The adminiſtration of juſtice ſhould be burdened with as little expence as poſſible; and the ſyſtem of the law ought to be ſimplified, amended, and explained.

If, from the civil concerns of our country, we direct our atention to the literary republic, we ſhall not find even there cauſe for unlimited commendation. To the efforts of literary men the preſent age is under unſpeakable obligations. It is to them

we

we are really indebted for whatever is enviable in our civil ſtate. They have taught both princes and the people to know themſelves; they have defined the functions of the former, and made known to the latter what are the rights and privileges of men. It is only by peruſing the records of hiſtory for a few ages back, and by comparing the former ſtate of mankind with the preſent, and particularly in this country, that the merits of literature and ſcience can be properly eſtimated. Knowledge is certainly at preſent very generally diffuſed, more generally than perhaps at any preceding period; but while it is thus diffuſed, is it not proportionably extenuated? All men think a little; but how few think with accuracy and candour! How few have extenſive views, or extenſive information! In the ſtate of literature and philoſophy, ſomething analagous alſo to our civil ſtate may be diſcovered. The moral writers of the times may be divided into two parties, and both of theſe affect the extremes. The viſionary and pernicious principles of materialiſm and neceſſity pervade and pervert the new philoſophy equally at the expence of religion and morals; while the few who oppoſe them, are the votaries of myſticiſm, or the champions of the ſevere and comfortleſs tenets of Calvin, and not the liberal diſciples of a Newton and a Clarke.

In a word, if the writers are numerous, we have to regret, that too many of them adapt their compoſitions rather to pleaſe than to inſtruct: if readers are multiplied, there are few who can eſtimate works of genuine merit; and to adorn the ſhelves of a library, or, at the beſt,

to paſs an idle hour, is more frequently the object, than to enlighten the underſtanding, or to improve the heart.

As the literature of the age (with however ſome eminent exceptions) is trifling, ſo the manners of the higher claſſes of ſociety are ſupereminently frivolous and contemptible. The inequality of property, the facility of credit, the prevalence of gambling, have engaged the whole faſhionable world, at the expence of all that is good and laudable, in the purſuit of two objects only, pleaſure and money. That diſgraceful and deſtructive ſyſtem, which has ſtudiouſly degraded the female underſtanding; which regards that ſex like the Grecian ſlaves, or the devoted beauties of Circaſſia, as created ſolely to gratify the external ſenſes, and which cultivates only thoſe accompliſhments that are calculated to excite ſenſual paſſions and emotions, has contributed too fatally to this depravation of manners. But let thoſe who think female literature inconſiſtent with domeſtic virtue, only compare the manners of the preſent age with thoſe, when women of rank and fortune ſtudied Plato; and when the throne of this realm was occupied by a female, equally verſed in ancient and in modern literature, and who wrote the Roman language with a degree of elegance and purity ſcarcely equalled by the firſt ſcholars of latter times.

It may not be entirely improper to add one general obſervation on the modern ſtyle of education, without adverting to thoſe branches which are totally uſeleſs, ſuch as muſic, which rather tends to diſſipate than to encourage thought or reflexion. It is a well eſtabliſhed truth, that the education both of males and females is, in the general

general, too ſuperficial. If their minds are only charged with facts and dates, and names, and the mere outlines of knowledge, they are conſidered as ſufficiently accompliſhed, while the real object of all ſtudies, the acquiſition of ſentiments and principles, is entirely diſregarded. For theſe reaſons, the epitomes of ſcience, and particularly of hiſtory, ſo much in eſtimation at preſent, are poſſibly injurious on the whole; they anticipate ſome of the moſt engaging objects of ſtudy, without affording that inſtruction, which would be imperceptibly imbibed from the purſuit of thoſe objects on a larger ſcale.

An enlightened ſtateſman, who could be perſuaded to act upon diſintereſted principles, might effect much even in the moral reformation of mankind. The evils reſulting from too great an inequality of property, might be, in a great meaſure, counteracted by the abolition of that moſt unjuſt and abſurd of the feudal inſtitutions, the diſpoſition of inheritances on the principle of primogeniture. Many oppreſſive taxes might yet be transferred with advantage from the neceſſaries to the luxuries of life; and the pernicious accumulation of human beings in large towns might be prevented by proper encouragement held forth to agriculture, and rural improvements.

The morals of the nation ought certainly no longer to be ſacrificed to a pitiful pecuniary gain, by that moſt diſgraceful mode of levying money by an annual lottery; and there cannot be a doubt but laws might be deviſed effectually to reſtrain the ſpirit of gambling in every deſcription. But we have lived too long, and ſeen too much of the temper and habits of cour-

tiers, to be over sanguine in our expectations. To maintain themselves in office is too commonly the first object with men in power; and the real welfare of the community is not unfrequently lost sight of in the war of words in St. Stephen's Chapel.

END OF VOL. III.

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